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HOME RULE FOR IRELAND.

REPORT

OF THE

INAUGURAL PUBLIC MEETING

OF

The Home Government Association,

HELD IN THE ROTUNDO, DUBLIN,

ON THURSDAY, 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1870.

(Specially Reported.)

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

AN ADDRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION TO THE PEOPLE OF
IRELAND, ITS CONSTITUTION AND RULES, AND
A LIST OF ITS PRESENT MEMBERS.

PUBLISHED WITH THE SANCTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE
HOME GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

DUBLIN :

COOLE & SON, 7, GT. BRUNSWICK

1870.

PRICE SIX PENCE





GRATTAN ADDRESSING THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

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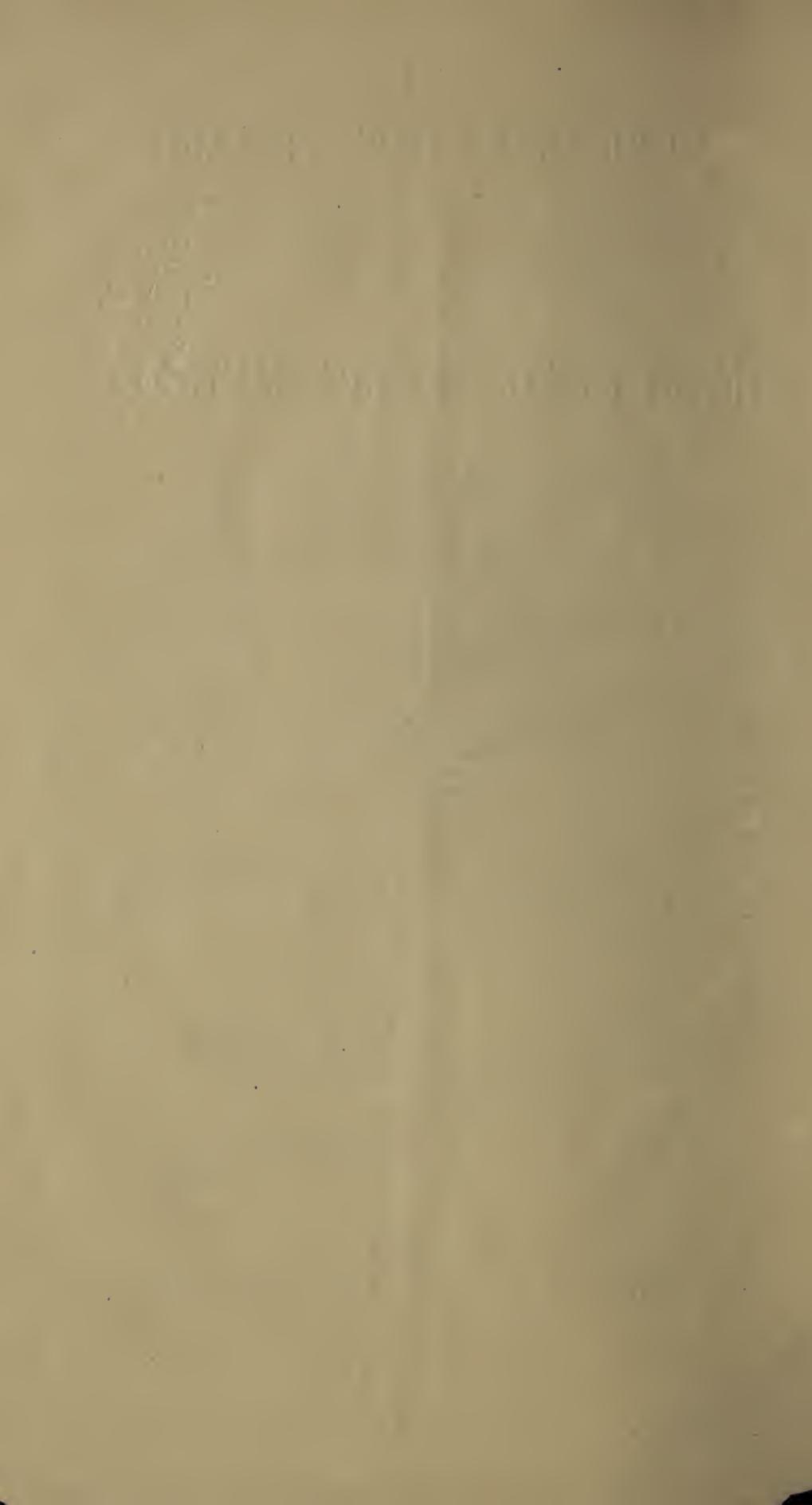
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HOME RULE.

REPORT OF THE INAUGURAL MEETING.

THE Inaugural Public Meeting of the Association formed in Dublin to take measures for procuring a Domestic Legislature in Ireland, was held on Thursday, the 1st of September, in the Round Room of the Rotundo. The attendance was very large and influential. The large room was crowded by public men from every part of Ireland, of all religions and politics. Several ladies occupied seats in the gallery, and the proceedings were looked upon with great interest.

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Amongst those present were :—George Browne, M.P.; Laurence Waldron, D.L.; James Vokes Mackey, Professor Galbraith, A. M. Sullivan, *Nation*; William Shaw, M.P.; Alderman Plunket, Colonel French, Dr. Maunsell, *Mail*; Dr. Stewart, Rev. M. Leonard, William Ledger Erson,—Edmundson, John F. Biggs, P. Sheals, solicitor, Belfast; Rev. — Hamerton, Henry Dix Hutton, J. O'Reilly, Captain Lloyd, Rickard Lloyd, Rev. Father Quaid, P.P., O'Calaghan's Mills; John Tew Armstrong, John J. Dunne, Peter Pike, solicitor; J. W. Russell, Cornelius P. Shannon, J. Trench, solicitor; William H. Kerr, Rev. George M'Cutchan, Alderman Gregg, Rev. W.G. Carroll, William Keating Clay, solicitor; George Riddick, solicitor; F. Meagher, T.C.; James Cantwell, Star and Garter Hotel; John Keegan, John Scallan, solicitor; George MacDermott, barrister-at-law; G. K. Whammond, T. Dolan, T.C.; John Hall, J.M. O'Toole, Daniel Sullivan, Mr. Whyte, Abbey-street; Alderman Redmond, Peter Talty, J. A. Mowatt, Mr. White, Mr. Scallon, I. J. Kennedy, Mr. Leonard, P. J. O'Byrne, *Irishman*, &c., &c.

Shortly after one o'clock Dr. Maunsell addressed the meeting and said he had been requested to move the appointment of a chairman. It would be belying the convictions of his whole life if he did not give every assistance in his power to the movement which he hoped they were about successfully to inaugurate. It was now twenty-five years since he had moved in the Corporation of Dublin, of which at that time he had the honor of being a Town Councillor, a project similar in nature, though not identical with that which was now before them. Unfortunately at that time it was not possible to carry it; but he believed that it had the full approval of Daniel O'Connell. He did not undertake such a motion without consulting Mr. O'Connell, who had sent him a reply, which he had at the present day in his possession, and which some time he hoped would see the light. He was happy now, after so long a period as a quarter of a century, to find himself called upon to propose the first citizen of Dublin, the Lord Mayor, or rather the Lord Mayor's *locum tenens*, to take the chair. He had authority for stating that it was purely an accident which had prevented the Lord Mayor *de jure* from presiding at the meeting, but

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not being able to come himself, he had done the next best thing that he could—he had nominated one of the most respectable citizens of Dublin to take his place, both in the civic chair, and also in the chair at the present meeting. He had much pleasure in proposing that Alderman J. W. Mackey, *locum tenens* for the Lord Mayor, take the chair.

The motion was seconded by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, and adopted by acclamation.

Alderman Mackey said—My first duty is to apologize for the absence of the Lord Mayor. He has been unavoidably detained in London, and a telegram from him, received this morning, expresses his regret that he is unable to be present on this occasion to take his proper place in the chair. I know you will well understand how much I feel the difficulty of my position in being called upon to take the Lord Mayor's place, conscious, as I am, of my deficiencies, and knowing that I am not the right man in the right place. Yet, as the *locum tenens* of the Lord Mayor, I have deemed it my duty to comply with the request of the committee, and by your sanction preside. I know that the Lord Mayor greatly regrets not being able to be present. I know that he sympathizes fully in this great movement. He is an active member of the Committee for Home Government, and right well he has performed his duties. As for myself I will only say, I have always been an advocate for a local and domestic legislature. I believe that it would be the great panacea for the redress of those grievances which have so long distrusted this country. I believe that the great element in self-government is, that it will tend in a great measure to cure absenteeism. Absenteeism, in my mind, is a prolific source of evil to this country. If, then, with a local legislature, and a resident nobility and gentry, we can cure absenteeism, we strike at the root of this great evil. If the farmer does not return to the land, by the use of manure, what he takes out of it, you can well understand that the land decreases in value. If our nobility and gentry take away from the country that which they receive from their tenants, I can well understand that the drain must be an incalculable loss to this country. I have always been a Repeater. One of the greatest men that this country ever produced was an advocate for a national parliament. I believe he would have given up every other project, and every other idea, if he could have only carried the great question of a domestic legislature. It may be asked, what interest have I, as a citizen of Dublin, in this question. I say that, as a merchant of Dublin—as one identified with the trade and commerce of this country, I must have a lively interest in its welfare and prosperity. Therefore, I say that when we have in Dublin—and I hope, perhaps before long, to see it—a national legislature, I believe that the great grievances of this country will be redressed.

Alderman Gregg moved—"That Mr. Ignatius J. Kennedy and Mr. Graham Lemon do act as honorary secretaries to the meeting."

Mr. J. Ledger Erson, J.P., seconded the motion, which was adopted unanimously.

The Secretary of the Association, Captain Dunne, then read the following correspondence :—

From John Francis Maguire, Esq., M.P.

Ardmanagh, Passage West, Cork,
August 30th, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot conveniently leave home at present, and, therefore, cannot be present at your meeting of Thursday; but I shall look with very great interest to the report of its proceedings, and hope they may be characterized by the wisdom of moderation—which is certain to conciliate most friends and disarm most opponents.

I have hitherto refrained from taking any part in the movement in favor of what is termed “Home Government,” for two reasons—the one, that I was unwilling to do anything which might have even the semblance of interfering with the progress of measures that I, in common with a large body of my countrymen, deemed essential alike to the material well-being and social peace of our country; the other, my belief that some further time should be allowed for the union of Irishmen of different creeds, political as well as religious. I firmly believe that this essential fusion of Irishmen must ultimately, and at no distant day, take place; otherwise I should be inclined to despair, not only of their good sense, but of the thorough regeneration of Ireland—which regeneration can never be brought about by the efforts of one party, but which requires for its accomplishment the united efforts of all.

For my part, I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion in favor of an Irish Parliament for purely Irish purposes, leaving questions of a general or imperial nature to the care of the Imperial Parliament. Without in any way binding myself to a detailed plan, I am generally, or on principle, in favor of the Federal system—such as has worked so successfully for so many years in the United States; such as has been lately established in British America, under the direct auspices of the Home Government; and such as is now proposed for the Australian colonies.

There are many things which Irishmen, having the advantage of locality and practical knowledge, could do better for themselves than it is possible a parliament in London could do for them; and there are many more things, vital to the future of Ireland, including the vigorous development of its national resources, which no imperial legislature would ever think of assisting, but which a local body could most beneficially influence.

Then there is the important consideration of convenience and expediency. Such is the present glut of business arising from a multitude, and, indeed, ever-increasing number, of questions pressing upon the Imperial Parliament, that legislation is frequently at a stand-still—something similar to what is seen almost every day at Temple Bar, and from a somewhat similar cause. Either valuable measures are slaughtered by a kind of governmental mitrailleuse at the close of the session, or those that escape the murderous process are hustled through their various stages in a manner which precludes the possibility of all necessary care and deliberation. The business of the empire suffers grievously from this enormous pressure, which is certain to increase rather than diminish, and the conviction that such is the case has, to my knowledge, forced itself upon several of the most thoughtful of the English members, who, I believe, are willing, or could be induced, to concede to Ireland the management of her own business, without at the same time trenching on what they hold to be the province of the Imperial Parliament.

But, to obtain their sympathy and aid, and, indeed, to conciliate the support of a powerful and influential party in Ireland, whom the promoters of the movement must have with them, if they really desire to succeed, the demand emanating from your meeting should be conceived in a spirit of moderation, which in this case is pre-eminently a spirit of wisdom.

Believe me, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN FRANCIS MAGUIRE.

J. J. Dunne, Esq., Secretary.

From Sir George O'Donel, Bart.

Newport House, County Mayo,
August 29th, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret very much that other important engagements will prevent me from taking a personal part in the forthcoming meeting to be held in the Rotundo. I am engaged in helping on a county organization for the relief of the wounded heroes of France, and as my presence at your meeting could not materially affect the vital issue to be settled there—the restoration of Home Government, without which no nation ever prospered, ever will or can prosper—I feel bound to do all that in me lies to promote the urgent and humane undertaking in which a good portion of the country is now engaged. I have no doubt that the patriotism of Ireland will speak out its mind on Thursday, and I thank God I have lived to see the day when our country, all but united, at last demands, in no faltering accents, and is quite resolved to regain, that inalienable right of which she was so unjustly robbed, and for the assertion of which an ancestor of mine shed his blood.

Believe me, faithfully yours,

G. C. O'DONEL.

The Secretary, Home Government Association.

From the Rev. Patrick Lavelle, P.P.

Cong, 30th August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I have only this day received your circular announcing a public meeting to be held in the Rotundo on Thursday next, on the subject of Home Government, and requesting my attendance thereat. I extremely regret my utter inability to attend, having made other arrangements which I cannot possibly break through. However, my presence or absence is a matter of not much importance, as my sentiments on the important, the vital question, have long been known. The Church Bill and the Land Bill, the former especially, will, I hope, be productive of much good; but no good that they may effect can ever satisfy the Irish soul, or ever compensate, in the remotest degree, for the national loss of a native government. He must be a blind statesman who fails to perceive this patent truth. In 1782 the independence of our country was proclaimed and legislatively guaranteed "for ever." Eighteen years only elapsed when, also "for ever," she was doomed to provincial servitude. This second "for ever" must be unsaid, must be undone. For this end, union and mutual toleration are chiefly needed; and trusting that these virtues will characterize your meeting of Thursday,

I remain truly yours,

PATRICK LAVELLE, P.P.

J. J. Dunne, Esq.

The following letters were also received :—

From John Moore, Esq., Midleton, Co. Cork.

Midleton, County Cork.

29th August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your circulars of the 26th inst. I beg to say that, owing to my public duties as coroner for this district, I cannot be present at the meeting on the 1st September at the Rotundo.

I deeply regret this, as I consider the inaugural day of the Home Government Association the most important event of our generation. For the first time in our sad history the united wisdom, honesty, and manhood of the Nation stand shoulder to shoulder on the same platform, to proclaim to the world that, chastened by the sufferings of our prostrate, disarmed, and coerced people, we join in one united effort to scout the demon of sectarian strife, and claim our inalienable right of Home Legislation.

The aristocracy of Ireland, with 80,000 volunteers, backed this demand and succeeded in 1782. The result—Ireland governed by her own king, lords, and commons—was a period of eighteen years of glorious progress and regeneration. Native manufactures increased, and "free trade or else—" woed back com-

merce and wealth to our previously blockaded harbors. With liberty came all the blessings which nature designed for a generous, high-minded race, the citizens of a beautiful and fertile island, the connecting link between Europe and America. Foreign politics distracted and deceived our gallant but credulous ancestors. English gold and intrigue corrupted our representatives ; false hopes were then held out by wily statesmen that Catholic Emancipation would follow at once upon passing the Act of Union. The rising of 1798 was fomented that the people might be dragooned into submission, and the men of property distracted by apprehensions lest Irishmen should be perverted into Red Republicans, and follow the insane and fiendish example set by Paris when intoxicated by revolution. The Volunteers had been disbanded, and in this helpless and distracted moment we were robbed of our legislature, despite the eloquent protests of those who still fought the unequal but heroic battle for our national existence. United to the Imperial Parliament seventy years ago, our representatives have had to contend against a tyrant majority of five to one. Even our one hundred members are not permitted to support our peculiar interests, but the patronage of the minister for the time being is held out to buy up the best talent of our lawyers, or to influence their advocacy or silence their inconvenient patriotism.

Since 1800, every Irish manufacture has nearly died out for want of the fostering care which our own legislature had provided. Catholic Emancipation was delayed till 1829, and then yielded, for other reasons than the sense of justice and liberality. Since then the vast body of the nation demanded a restoration of the Irish Parliament, and the famine came and was availed of, the difficulty was got over, when "the Celts were gone with a vengeance." In that Repeal movement the upper classes stood aloof, influenced, to some extent, *by reasons which no longer exist*. Experience has shown them that their interests had to give way to the Free Trade movement, and just then the lands for which their fathers bravely fought were placed in the market by the Incumbered Estates Court Act, and sold to creatures who only knew how to make and keep money. The old followers and tenantry were handed over to the tender mercy of the cent.-per-cent. landlords, and the crow-bar resounded in its universal work of desolation.

By such bungling efforts the remedy was found even worse than the disease ; and so shall it always be till native rule takes the patient in hands, and knowing the constitution and actual ailments, will, as in '82, prescribe the proper regimen. We are sick of Whig and Tory nostrums. They both admit their repeated failures, but, with the pertinacity of the poor schoolmaster, "though vanquished, they would argue still." But what if the whole weight of this country should move, animated by one life and interest, having one object—and that an honest, reasonable, legitimate one—in view ? What if all men say, " Our rights in every class and creed have been betrayed in turn ; our country has been impoverished, insulted, and coerced ; we stand at this crisis exposed to every danger which may arise from European complications ; we are taxed for a national debt incurred to maintain the balance of power, and when that stands a fair chance of being destroyed, the hostility of both belligerents is excited towards England by a portion of her press, and we in Ireland have not even the protection of our volunteers or militia. Why ? Just because we are ruled for the benefit and by the power of another country ; and as that country has not done us justice, but wrong, in the past, she fears to trust us as she does our fellow-subjects of England, Scotland, and Wales. This may be a good excuse in times of peace, but now such arguments must lose all regard in the minds of rational, reflective men. Ireland is not treated in this respect like the rest of the United Kingdom ; and this reason alone should decide the question of home or imperial rule in every breast that is free to draw a conclusion. Our homes and lives and properties are as dear to us and as sacred as if placed two hundred miles to the east of Dublin." Let, then, the voice of Ireland be collected by honest, truthful, brave, and prudent men, and we shall see whether a measure of justice cannot be framed that will justify our rulers in allowing Irishmen to guard their own country and elect their own senate.

I beg to enclose the list of names for whom I vote to undertake this arduous

and noblest of duties, and I pray that Ireland's patron saint may inspire them with the same Christian charity and virtue which he planted in our beloved Erin ! Amen.—Believe me, dear sir, yours most faithfully,

JOHN MOORE.

John Dunne, Esq.

From John O'Neill Daunt, Esq., Co. Cork.

Kilcassan Castle, County Cork.

29th August, 1870.

GENTLEMEN,—Most heartily do I wish it were in my power to attend your demonstration on next Thursday ; but, as it is impossible for me to leave home just now, I adopt this mode of assuring you how anxiously I desire the success of your movement, and how deeply I regret my inability to be present at your inaugural meeting.

I have always been convinced that the destruction of the Irish Parliament was the blackest of the numerous black crimes committed by England against our country. If history teaches us anything, it teaches us that Self-Legislation is vitally indispensable to the prosperity of Ireland. During the period of our legislative independence, the advance of the national welfare was rapid and astonishing. That advance is attested by the concurrent evidence of friends and foes. Since the Union, the decay of the nation has been steadily progressive.

Of the diabolical means to which Mr. Pitt's government resorted to extinguish our legislature, I shall here only say that they were in perfect conformatity with the nature of the Union itself—a measure that robbed Ireland of her rightful control over her own national affairs, and transferred that control to a hostile and unscrupulous rival. I cannot conceive any measure better calculated to create and intensify international enmity than the Union. Grattan said, in 1780, that the heart of Ireland would never be well at ease so long as England exercised or claimed legislation over this country. These words are as true to-day as when he spoke them. He added that so long as England exercised power to bind Ireland, so long were the nations in a state of war. These words, also, are as true to-day as when they were uttered by our Protestant patriot. For the minds of men must inevitably cherish strong and perpetual animosity against the neighboring nation that usurps a power to intrude into their national concerns.

It is a happy omen of our success, that Irishmen of all creeds, flinging to the winds their old sectarian jealousies, stand together to demand the restoration of their country's legislature. For years I have longed and prayed to see this day. England may, perhaps, try her arts to purchase the venal, to scare the timid, to cajole the weak and credulous ; but her arts will be employed in vain to arrest the march of Irish freedom, if the mass of Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics continue in the course they have happily commenced—true to themselves, true to each other, true to their common country. I agree in the statement, that Ireland ought to contribute her fair share to the general imperial expenses ; but what that share shall amount to is a point that the Irish Parliament shall have the sole and exclusive power to determine.

Praying that God may prosper your labors, and that we may soon see Ireland governed by the queen, lords, and commons thereof, I beg to remain, gentlemen, your faithful servant,

W. J. O'NEILL DAUNT.

From James Byrne, Esq., Shanballymore.

Wallstown Castle, Shanballymore,

28th August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I regret that other engagements will prevent my attending your inaugural meeting, as, otherwise, I should be most happy to take a part in it. Hoping it will, as it deserves, be a great success,

Yours faithfully,

JAMES BYRNE.

John J. Dunne, Esq.

From F. D. M'Carthy, Esq., Glen Curragh, Skibbereen.

Glen Curragh, 31st August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I regret more than I can tell you being unable to be present at the inaugural meeting of the Home Government Association. The notice I received was too short, and my absence from home would materially interfere with some important business arrangements I have made for this week. However, if I am not with you in person, I am in spirit, heart, and soul. I shall do all in my power to aid this great movement. Indeed, I have been some time in correspondence with my friend Mr. O'Neill Daunt as to the advisability of bringing it forward at our local boards. I trust the late reverse we met with in Dublin will rather strengthen than diminish the ardor of those who would wish to see this fine country once more prosperous, and occupying the position among nations which God destined she should hold. I would feel obliged by your giving me timely notice whenever you have anything important going on, as the distance from here is far.

I remain very truly yours,

F. D. M'CARTHY.

Captain Dunne.

From Sir William Wilde, Esq.,

1, Merrion Square North, 1st September, 1870.

DEAR MR. DUNNE,—I find it will not be in my power to attend the meeting at the Rotundo this day at three o'clock; but I hope it will be a success, and I beg you to assure our brethren of the Home Committee that my attachment to the great object we have in view remains undiminished.

I remain yours faithfully,

W. WILDE.

J. J. Dunne, Esq.

From the Very Rev. Dean O'Brien, D.D.

Leeds, August 30, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—It is high time to move publicly, and to give the country a pledge and a policy. The Committee has been charged with being the mere trickery of party to feed faction upon the strength of the people. If we had long since developed into the organization always intended, the number and character of the members would have made this charge absurd. I am glad even now that the necessary move is made; though I am sensible of the difficulties caused by delay. Professional duties detain me in England, and, therefore, I cannot have the happiness of addressing my fellow-countrymen at the Rotundo, on the 1st of September. If I could be with you, the sum of my reasoning would be for Union, and my exhortation would be "stand together." To those who say that the majority of our Committee are acting from unsound motives, my reply would be: Motives belong to God Almighty; we seek well-directed *deeds*. And, if any man would urge that the plain and palpable action of the Association will aim at low ends, or bad ends, my answer is that the Irish nation in such case ought to be as good a judge as he. Departure from the objects that unite us together would be a treason plain and public, as well as execrable, and would smash the organization in a week. While to suppose that we cannot see where we are going, at the same time that 'tis so plain to the class of objectors I allude to, is a poor compliment to us, and a strong argument to show they should come and join us, and keep us from being led astray. In one word, I give the Committee my name, and I will give it my help, because I want Home Government, and they propose to help *me*. To imagine that for other purposes they can use me without my own knowledge is a stretch of superstition; and, with my eyes open, I am not likely to become a tool. Besides, if the country join as it ought to join, the country will dominate a hundred times the number of the Committee, and, whatever be the motives of men, will compel them to do the country's work. What is this Committee, so much aspersed, and apparently so much dreaded, if the clergy and people pour in to swell the national ranks? Why, the Committee in such a case will hardly be a straw upon the current of a grand Irish public mind. I say to the meeting of the 1st of September, that an opportunity presents

itself that may not come again for many a day. I ask the people and clergy to consider the times and weigh the circumstances. Great power is evidently at the command of Ireland ; and to refuse the power—a power perfectly under the country's control—because some people question other people's motives, would be as wise as to seek for a certain set of surnames, or men of a certain height, to form an association. Priests and people are at a great turning point. If both come together now, victory is certain ; if they separate now, the moral future of our country will be exposed to the operation of causes that may well inspire fear.

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.,

R. B. O'BRIEN, D.D., Dean.

From the Rev. John Ryan, P.P., New Inn, Cahir.

New Inn, Cahir, 31st August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I would feel most happy to assist and speak at the first meeting of our Committee on to-morrow at the Rotundo, but I must be present at a wedding party on to-morrow.

The peculiar faculty for lying now exhibited by the English press, with some honorable exceptions, will do us great service.

Your obedient servant,

J. Dunne, Esq., Dublin.

JOHN RYAN, P.P.

From Hugh Heinrick, Esq., Abbey Street, Park Road, Birmingham.

3 Abbey Street, Park Road, Birmingham,

31st August, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I very much regret my inability to be with you to-morrow. I would gladly be present and take part in the inaugural meeting of the Association, did circumstances permit it. As it is, I must be content with wishing all success to the movement in Ireland, and laboring here as best I may to forward the good work.

Never in the history of political movements in Ireland has there been one inaugurated under such happy auspices. Were no other object aimed at than that of healing the feuds of the past, and establishing a union of Irishmen based on concord and brotherly love, the movement would merit the benediction of every good man in the land. But when to this is added the still more ennobling duty of laboring to secure self-government for our native land, the task becomes a trust, imperative and holy, demanding the energy and sacrifice of the entire people. The movement merits and can hardly fail to attain success. For the first time in our history, distinctions of creeds and classes are forgotten, and a political association is founded which, while leaving each individual the full and free enjoyment of his opinions, would exact from all a common pledge of fealty to Ireland. This is an augury of happy omen. Our dissensions have ever proved the chief agency of subjecting us to foreign domination. A society which labors to banish dissension and promote fraternal union is but the herald of national regeneration. The Home Rule Association has commenced its labor by an appeal to the people in which unity is the cardinal principle. It only remains to carry out its labors in the spirit in which it has been founded in order to perfect its design and secure the fruition of the desires of the nation.

In other lands the clashing of diverse opinions but kindles the intellect, and strikes out sparks of thought that give light and guidance to the nation. Why should it not be so in Ireland? Why should the north scowl on the south, and the south reply to the north by a cheer of defiance? We all spring from the same soil, all drink from the same founts, all breathe the same air. We are brethren in spite of ourselves. Oh ! let us all labor to eradicate the criminal insanity which keeps us divided ! The union of north and south, the blending of mind with mind, the contrast or clashing of thought with thought, would create a new intellectual life in the land, raise up a spirit of charity to exorcise the demon of strife, inform the mind of the nation with an ambition commensurate with the requirements of

nationhood, and establish mutual recognition of rights, and claims on which found a peaceful and happy future. Why should we live like strangers in our own land? We need but to meet and know each other to remove most of our prejudices. We doubt and distrust mutually only because we are ignorant. Why should this criminal ignorance last? We need but to meet and clasp hands for Ireland, and the shibboleth of ages will be forgotten, or drowned in the hosannahs pealed by a delighted and united nation. The inaugural meeting, true to the principles on which the Association is founded, will, I know, appeal to the nation in this spirit. In this spirit the movement so auspiciously begun will be continued, till the wisdom of its policy is established in the accomplishment of the object for which the Association has been founded.

That the appeal of Ireland, united with the object of obtaining Home Rule, will receive the respectful attention, if not the active support of the English people, is proved by the fact that during the last month the principles of the Association have been affirmed at eight public meetings held in this town and district, heartily approving "of the national movement for an Irish Parliament," rejoicing "that it has already produced more harmony among men of various classes, creeds, and parties, than has appeared at any period during the present century," and pledging the people to "tender their earnest assistance in the use of all moral and constitutional means to secure for Ireland that federal government which has already resulted in such peace and prosperity in the more distant settlements of the empire." It is only necessary for Ireland to be united to command the respectful consideration of the English people. They have marked the apathy of the Irish people in reference to recent "ameliorations," and marvelled at the cause. They will have no difficulty in understanding it when they know from the united popular voice that Home Government, and Home Government alone, is the desire of the nation.

Permit me again to express the disappointment I feel at not being able to be with you to-morrow, and to request of you to assure the committee that I will continue to labor, as I have done, to promote the objects of the Association in this locality. I consider it of much importance to do so, as the democratic opinion of Birmingham and the district has much influence with the governing classes in England.

I remain, dear sir, yours always,

HUGH HEINRICK.

Queenstown, 29th August, 1870.

SIR,—I regret it will not be in my power to assist at the inaugural meeting of the Home Government Association on next Thursday. The movement has my best wishes, and I expect from the characters of its promoters the happiest results for their patriotic efforts. The secular mistrusts and hereditary dissension of the different religious communions of Irishmen, and the recent unhappy relations of the great majority of our countrymen with their more fortunate and better educated neighbors, are, in many respects, and very much, to be deplored. I believe this movement for an Irish Parliament, commenced as it has been, capable of correcting most of those evils and of readjusting on rational grounds the mutual relations of Irishmen of all classes and of every creed, and of combining and keeping united, for the peace and prosperity of their native land, all true-hearted and right-minded sons of the Emerald Isle.

It may not be out of time or place to state here, that in 1865, under my roof, and before ten still living witnesses of different political and religious opinions, it was proclaimed most confidently that Ireland would have a native parliament before ten years, and that then incredible prediction was committed on the spot to writing. This political seer has again and again assured me that such a combination as your list of members discloses, was not merely probable, but certain, and that the class of my countrymen whom I distrusted most, and politically abhorred, would become thoroughly Irish and national. The prophet is Isaac Butt, and I hope and pray he shall see the fulfilment of his predictions, and the realization of his dearest hopes for the union of all honest Irishmen, and the happiness of our dear native land.

I remain, sir, yours truly,

J. Dunne, Esq.

JAMES RICE.

From Francis Brodigan, Esq., J.P., Pilton House, Drogheda.

104, Pall Mall, London,
August 31st, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—I regret much it will be out of my power to be in Dublin for the Public Meeting of the Home Government Association on to-morrow, when it is intended to lay before the country the important project of a Federal Parliament for Ireland. Regarding this movement as heralding a sound and patriotic measure—as one which touches the true chord of Irish sentiment and sympathy, while it appeals to the good sense and honor of the united kingdom—I beg to say that I feel flattered in having joined the Association, and in moving in the same direction with its respected members for accomplishing what I conceive to be a matter of paramount importance to the future well-being and prosperity of Ireland.

It is a fallacy to presume that a British body of legislators have any correct knowledge or true appreciation of the internal concerns of our country. This deception has been often pointed out, and still bears repetition; and until a reversal of such an impolitic and injurious system of internal legislation is effected, the successful progress of Ireland must be considered to be in comparative abeyance, until it reaches the goal it ought and is destined to attain through the spirited and able increasing supporters of this movement.

While such a preponderating power as 553 British members of the House of Commons exists, and is capable of being at any time able to outvote 105 Irish members, a sense of insecurity must be the normal condition of a country having to deal with such powerful odds, whether viewed theoretically or practically, with its destinies and interests more or less placed at the disposal of a preponderating legislative power centralized in London.

The supposed difficulties and conflicting circumstances that would arise by means of a Federal Parliament only exist in the minds of theorists. Its practicability as a measure to be carried, and its future working, need not be despised of. Conflicts between imperial and local questions are easily avoided under a well-defined federal system, and any misgivings under this head can be fully provided for by adopting the plan by which federal provincial assemblies are now carried on in Canada, with defined practices in all matters of local legislation, as contradistinguished from the functions appertaining to the Dominion Parliament.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Captain J. J. Dunne.

FRANCIS BRODIGAN.

Captain Dunne announced that letters of apology for their non attendance had been also received from Mr. C. Harman, Q.C., Lismore; Edward Ryan, J.P., Cahir; T. P. O'Connor, Cashel; Cornelius O'Brien, Nenagh; James Blackwell, Rathkeale; John Allingham, Manager of the Provincial Bank, Waterford; Edward Walsh, *Wexford People*; Joseph Clampett, Waterford; Luke J. O'Shea, J.P., Kinsale; John Martin, Kilbroney; William Brown, Royal Victoria and Albert Docks, Passage West, Cork; Bernard Delaney, LL.D., Castlewood, Durrow; Jeremiah Hodnet, A.B., Youghal; Patrick Dunne, chairman, T.C., Callan; Michael Power, Chilcomb House, New Ross; John P. Byrne, J.P., Ballyboghill House; James Brody, Cavan; Captain George Macartney, Lissanoure, county Antrim; Archdeacon Ryland, Lismore; M. Anthony, chairman, T.C., Dungannon; General Dunne, Brittas; the Honorable Charles Moore Smith, Ballinatray; A. Sheridan, *Mayo Examiner*.

Laurence Waldron, Esq., D.L., rose to move the first resolution, thus occupying a position in which he had been placed by the committee, from which he dared not shrink. He did not hesitate to say, in the words of the resolution in his hand, that at the first public meeting of their Association they felt it right to declare "that every day's experience

still more forcibly impressed upon them the conviction that the imperial parliament was unequal to the task of adequately legislating in detail for the varied wants and local requirements of the three kingdoms, and, he might add, of Ireland in particular. That conviction had not come upon him now for the first time. Thirty years ago, when the Repeal of the Union was the question of the hour, he was in favor of a Federal Parliament for Ireland, and he was then as convinced as now that nothing short of this would secure the prosperity of this country. But in those days, those who were not for the larger question were not listened to, and, therefore, he and others who felt like him—among others his friend Dr. Maunsell—had to content themselves by waiting for a time like the present when the question would come naturally to the front. He might say that quite recently he had felt most keenly the disadvantage of the legislature in another country. He had the honor to be chairman of one of the Irish railways, and as such he had to appear before a parliamentary committee. How was that body composed? Of four gentlemen, against whom he had nothing personally to urge, but of whom he must say that they were not such as a man of business would entrust with the disposal of two millions of money, or to handle a question in which such a sum of money was concerned. One member—the chairman, indeed—was a youthful member of the House of Commons, who had as yet done nothing to show his ability for business; the second was a youthful colonel of the Guards, and the others were still younger—all being, as he apprehended, inexperienced in such matters as those upon which they were called upon to decide. If they had decided against us there was no redress, and an irreparable mischief would be done this country. If the tribunal was at home the members would have been in a better position to know the wants of the locality, and there would consequently be much less risk of damage to the undertaking. Again, they had to rely on the services of a number of counsel who practised in that way, not of one whom was Irish—the only things Irish, in fact, were himself, his witnesses, and their money. With the promoters of this movement he believed that had they a home legislature such a state of things would not be. The second part of the resolution said that the interests of Ireland were especially misunderstood, disregarded, or sacrificed in that assembly, the English House of Commons. That might appear a strong assertion, but he could for himself say that whilst in parliament, some years ago, on a question on which there was no great sectarian feeling evinced—the Irish poor law system—the Irish members were not only disregarded, but almost treated with contempt. Sure was he that such a state of things would not occur if they had a Home Government. With the permission of the meeting, he would wish to say a word or two on a subject which did not essentially come within the resolution. He had been told by a number of Protestant friends that they would cordially join that Association but for fear that the Church which he (Mr. Waldron) belonged to would endeavor, when it came to be an important body, to turn it to their own purposes. No further back than the previous day one of the most estimable resident noblemen of Ireland, whom he had asked to attend, made that excuse. He (Mr. Waldron)

could not believe that such a thing would be possible. He believed that there was a growth of intelligence, and equality, and self-respect amongst the middle classes that would force them to protest against any such thing. He could only say for himself that he entirely disbelieved it, and he could also say to those who did not feel with him in religion, that if they seceded the Association would certainly fall to the ground, because they could not go on unless by a combination and union of all classes. With those few remarks, he begged to move the first resolution as follows :—

“That at this first public meeting of this Association, we feel it right to declare that every day's experience still more forcibly impresses upon us the conviction that the Imperial Parliament is unequal to the task of adequately legislating in detail for the varied wants and local requirements of the three kingdoms, and that the interests of Ireland are especially misunderstood, disregarded, or sacrificed in that assembly.”

William Shaw, Esq., M.P. for Bandon, seconded the resolution with great pleasure. He had given this subject much consideration, and he believed there never was one which so fully deserved the concurrence of all classes of Irishmen. They simply asked that their own business should be managed by their own parliament. There was nothing revolutionary in that. He did not take part in this movement as an agitator, but as a man of business, and, as a man of business, there was nothing that he could see which would stop the downward tendency of this country, or raise her to her proper position so effectually as this very movement in which they were engaged. It might be asked, “Is not the country prosperous?” He would not call it prosperous because Providence had blessed it with a few good years, and because the farmers were fortunate in a few seasons. A few bad years might come, and then the aspect of affairs would be materially changed. The prosperity of a country consisted in the growth of towns, the growth of business, the growth of manufactures, the action through the country of capital developing its resources, the working of mind on capital, the bringing of capital and labor together. Let them go through three-fourths of this country, and ask themselves where was the prosperity? They would not find a town that had not been depressed, and that was not still further retrograding. They would not find a branch of business that was not going to the bad. Their villages were disappearing, and their towns were becoming villages. Having referred to the delay and expense of obtaining acts of parliament for the carrying out of local improvements in Ireland, Mr. Shaw went on to say there was a large number of local questions affecting Ireland in which the imperial parliament could not, and ought not to, be expected to interfere. They had not time to attend to these minor matters. He believed they never could have a country like this progressing properly unless they had something like nationality amongst them. They could not possibly regard Ireland as a county of England. The sea, nature, Providence, had forbidden it. History was against it. For generations this war had been going on between the centralizing influence of England on the one hand, and the national spirit of Ireland on the other; yet, with all England's power, she had never been able to wipe out the

national aspirations of this country. The most effectual means the English could adopt for the contentment, welfare, and happiness of this country was by yielding to the demands of that Association. By that means they would retain everything good in imperialism, and give everything good in nationalism. They would not dismember the empire, but they would cement it closer together, and foster the spirit which should animate it. It was a very important question how they were to carry out this object. He believed they were that day inaugurating a movement which was destined to succeed. But it would succeed sooner or later just in proportion to the common sense and honesty that they brought into it. They did not want to repel ; they wanted to unite. They did not want to exclude ; they wanted to bring all into the Association—the Protestant and the Catholic, the priest and the parson. (A Voice—And the Orangeman). Yes, and even the cardinal. They did not want anything that could be misinterpreted by anyone as tending to exclude anybody. His friend, Mr. Maguire, thought the movement rather premature, and that some time should be allowed to Protestant and Catholic better to understand each other. But what way was there to make them understand each other better than by bringing both of them into contact in a great movement like the present ? After some further observations, Mr. Shaw concluded amidst applause.

The resolution was then put, and passed unanimously.

The Rev. Joseph A. Galbraith, Fellow of Trinity College, said—The honor of moving the next resolution had been imposed by the committee upon him, in conjunction with Father Quaid, of Callaghan's Mills, with whom he had shaken hands that morning on the resolution he was about to propose. He had never spoken in that room before, and he doubted whether his voice would reach all parts of it. But of this he was certain, that if his voice could reach as far as his heart and his affections, it would reach from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, and from Ireland's Eye to the Isles of Arran. They were assembled this day for a great object—an object which was dear to the hearts of the Irish people. He saw that people before him ; and no matter what class of society in Ireland might choose to absent themselves from this movement, of this he was certain, that once it was put forward it would have the support and the sympathy of the people of Ireland. The gravest political mistake that could be made by a statesman or by a party was to suppose that the people of a country were to be found in any other place than in the farmhouse, in the cottage, and in the workshop. At this moment two great nations were waging deadly war with each other—God grant that it might soon cease—but they all knew this, that neither of those nations, whether for the purpose of defence or of offence, could go into the field with any other doctrine than that which he had now pronounced. It would, therefore, be the business of every enlightened man in this country, of every enlightened man in England who regarded this movement, to bear that doctrine in mind, and never forget that in the prosperity and contentment of the people rested the true safety of the empire.

The resolution he was about to propose was as follows :—

“ Resolved—That it is absolutely essential to the well-being of this country that the present legislative system be terminated, and the management of Irish affairs be committed to an Irish Parliament, sitting in the national capital, where Irish business can best be transacted, and composed of Irish representatives, who can best understand the requirements of their country ; and that we do now adopt and repeat the declaration already made by the committee with whom this Association originated, and declare that its objects, and its only objects, are ; to obtain for our country the privilege of managing her own affairs by a parliament composed of her Majesty the Sovereign, the Lords and Commons of Ireland ; to secure for that parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for, and regulating all matters relating to, the internal affairs of Ireland, and control over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing our just proportion of the imperial expenditure ; to leave to an imperial parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the imperial crown and government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the crown, the relations of the united empire with foreign states, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the empire at large.”

The Association had been censured for having hitherto held only private meetings—hole-and-corner meetings—as some amiable critics had called them. He did not mind these sneers ; the best answer he could make was to point to the noble meeting he now had the honor to address. With regard to the great question that brought them together, it was a cheering thing to be able to say that, wherever he went, at all times and in all places, he found a general agreement on the point that Home Government was intrinsically a good thing, and a thing to be desired. One had this little jealous objection, another that. This one would be with them if they could but secure such a person, and another would join the movement but that a certain individual had a place in our ranks. But he had found but one opinion among both Protestants and Catholics as to the desirability of having Home Government. Now, when they had got that admission the battle was, in his opinion, half won. If there was a strong party in the land who would come forward and oppose it as bad or vicious in itself he would retire altogether, but such was not the case. On the contrary, he defied any man in Ireland to maintain, in public, the proposition that Home Rule was a bad thing in itself ; no one would believe him, no one would listen to him, he would be hooted off any platform. A good proof of this was the way in which the Dublin press had treated the question. With one exception, every paper in Dublin had given it a fair consideration. He would name that exception, and he begged to do so in a most respectful manner. One of the principles which he had laid down for himself in this matter, and which he had implored all his friends to act upon, was not to say a hard word of any one—neither of public men nor of public journals. It was necessary and right, however, that they should take notice of hostile criticism. The paper to which he alluded was the *Daily Express*. Now, the *Daily Express* was one of the most important organs of public opinion, and he, therefore, hoped and trusted that before long they would bring that journal, and all the influence it could bring to

bear in Ireland, to support their side of the question. He would not trouble the meeting with the criticism of the *Express* on Home Government and its advocates ; but he would take the liberty of contrasting the statements made in yesterday's issue of that paper with those of an article on railway management published last Tuesday week. Those present were aware that about a week ago several half-yearly railway meetings were held in this city, and in remarking upon their proceedings, the *Express* said—

“ Except on those lines that have long suffered from the management of English directors, the receipts are increasing, better dividends have been paid to the shareholders, and the reserve funds have been strengthened. The same story comes from every part of Ireland.”

And again—

“ Another advantage to Irish railways is that of being managed by Irishmen. While the directors of many of them lived in England it was impossible to accommodate the public or to avoid useless expense in working. The directors of a company are now in general familiar with the district through which a line passes, and know what inducements are needed to make the people use the railway.”—(*Daily Express*, 23rd August, 1870.)

He thought that if such a great interest as the railway property of this country was best managed by Irishmen living in Ireland—like Mr. Waldron and his friend Mr. Cusack, whom he would be glad to have seen there—the same would apply to every other interest. If they wanted, for instance, to purify the river Liffey, he maintained that the business would be better managed by Irishmen in College-green than by Englishmen three hundred miles away ; and the work would be as well done by engineers educated in Trinity College or some other college in Ireland as by a staff of London engineers. Moreover, the self-respect of Irishmen would be maintained by doing their own business in their own country, instead of sending over deputations, as they now did, month after month, to be snubbed and rebuffed by London officials for daring to ask for a share of their own money.

The question of Home Government was, after all, a matter of plain common sense. In the year 1800, a great English statesman said with reference to the project of a Union with Ireland—

“ The whole scheme went upon that false and abominable presumption that we could legislate better for the Irish than they could do for themselves—a principle founded upon the most arrogant despotism and tyranny. There was not a more clear axiom in the science of politics than that man was his own natural governor, and that he ought to legislate for himself. No other being could enter into his feelings or have anything common in sympathy with his nature, and therefore the legislature of a people must flow out of and be identified with the people themselves. It was idle to talk to Ireland of the word union, since there could be no such thing as a real union on an equal footing between countries so disproportionate and unequal.”

He had no wish to institute comparisons between the two great English statesmen, Pitt and Fox—the one who gained the Union by intrigue and corruption, the other who condemned it in these noble

words ; but he did not hesitate to adopt the liberal sentiments of that great man, who, had he been able to turn English opinion to his views, would have left Ireland her Parliament, and gained for England a powerful and chivalrous ally on her western frontier. What had been the government of Ireland since the Union ? During that seventy years the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended eleven times ; various Arms Act, Coercion Acts, Peace Preservation Acts, had been passed ; and the whole domestic legislation of the government had been employed in putting these infernal measures into execution, until it came to be said, with some truth, that the government of Ireland had been delegated to "Larcom and the police." That Association wanted to bring about a different state of things. They wanted to have established a real government for this country ; and no government could be real unless it reposed upon the affections and love of the people. History proved that—common sense proved it. It needed no argument. He would not give give ten years' purchase for a government that did not depend for its stability upon the will and love of the people. If a country were attacked, where was she to get the men to defend her ? Not from the saloon or the council-chamber, but from the cottage, the farmhouse, and the workshop ; and the government which could not rely upon such sources was in a rotten and dangerous condition. Now, he would say that the present government of this country was not only undesirable but it was really unnatural. Mr. Shaw had pointed out that Ireland, by its history, by its geographical position, and by its feelings, was a distinct country from England. The doctrine for a long time prevailed that Ireland ought to be governed in the same way as Somersetshire or Kent—that Ireland, in fact, was West Britain ; but English statesmen were beginning to see that this was not a true doctrine—they were beginning to recognize the principle that "Ireland must be governed according to Irish ideas." That being granted, why not allow the people of this country to govern themselves at home ? What was the spirit that animated some at least of our English legislators ? He would give them an instance. During the discussion of the Land Bill in the House of Lords, a noble lord gave his adhesion to that bill, not because the provisions of that bill were good for the Irish people, or because they were due to them, but because, if granted as a concession, the English Government could point to it in the face of Europe if they found it necessary to deal with the people of Ireland for daring to ask for that privilege which he dared that day openly to demand for them—the right to manage their own affairs. The next thing he should direct their attention to was the manner in which the writers in London papers spoke of this country. He would read a specimen for the meeting, which would show them the spirit by which these writers were animated towards Ireland. The passage he would read for them was from the *Spectator* of the day on which the present continental war was declared ; and he would warn these press writers that it was more than a foolish thing—it was a dangerous thing—to speak as they did about the Irish people. The passage was as follows :—

"The average British elector, and still more the average Scotch one, when asked to do justice to Ireland, has always, in order to force himself to yield, to crush down part of himself, to resolve, by a sheer effort of his will, not to give his instincts their swing, not to hate Catholics, not to despise Celts." —(*Spectator*, 16th July, 1870).

Now he believed that such a statement was shocking to the feelings and repugnant to the common sense of every honest Englishman and Scotchman. He read the statement to the meeting for the purpose of drawing a distinction between the English nation and the London press, who at that moment were working an infinity of mischief by such malicious, hare-brained statements. The Association was resolved to bring forward the question before the English and Scotch people, simply on the grounds of justice, common sense, and convenience ; and he was convinced that not only the English and Scotch people, but the statesmen who governed England would be found to give it a respectful consideration. On taking up a number of the same paper that morning he met another passage to which he would refer. It was edifying to see how sensibly and fairly the London pressman writes when he has any other subject than poor Ireland in view. The article was on the subject of Federation in Australia. On the other side of the world the principle was first-rate, founded on common sense, and calculated to strengthen the empire ; but let a number of Irishmen meet in the Rotundo in Dublin to ask for what it was acknowledged would be of so much benefit to other countries, they were sure to be told that they were hateful Catholics, despicable Celts, to do common justice to whom required an Englishman to crush down his natural instincts. Professor Galbraith then read the following extract from the *Spectator* :—

"Expatriation evidently suits the Irish genius. While the Irish hardly furnish a statesman in a generation to the English parliament (Lord O'Hagan is, we believe, almost the sole member of it who, having really lived his life in Ireland, can yet make good his claim to that name, unless, indeed, Lord Dufferin can be said to have lived his life in Ireland), the expatriated Irish—the Irish who go to India, and Canada, and Australia—furnish far more than the ordinary proportion to the ranks of genuine statesmen. Sir Henry and Lord Lawrence, Ulster Orangemen, saved India ; Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee, an Irish Catholic, conceived and virtually effected the federation of the British Dominion in North America ; and Mr. Chas. Gavan Duffy, Irish Catholic, was the first to suggest to the Australian colonies, and is likely to carry out for them, a measure of federation." —(*Spectator*, August 27th, 1870.)

Professor Galbraith stated that he would not pass by the mention of Lord O'Hagan's name without testifying his respect both for his abilities and his private character. As for Lord Dufferin's living his life in Ireland he could answer that he did not, and more shame for him and for all his class. There was one portion of his life, and a very important one, too, that he did not live in Ireland, and that was the portion of it during which he was being educated. He could not go to Trinity College—he must needs go to the English universities, with all the other young Irish lords. Now he would say that wherever a man was educated there he was intellectually born, there he received his ideas and sympa-

thies, and formed his friendships. There was many a man born in Ireland who was not an Irishman, he was sorry to say. But he would tell them what constituted a man an Irishman, an Englishman, or a Scotchman. Above all, love of his country. Why did a man love his country ? Because his interest was there, because he was educated there, because his young acquaintances were there, because he could shake hands with the man that played the games of boyhood with him in his youth. A man was not an Irishman, Englishman, or Scotchman simply because he happened to be born in one of these countries ; still less because he happened to have property in them. There were some men who thought that gave them a title to be Irish. He denied that too. And that gave rise to a serious question—the quantity of property that had been swept out of this country that rightly belonged to it, and unjustly belonged to the man who carried it away. On that question of absenteeism he would give them a few figures. Of course they were rudely calculated, for there were no accurate statistics published on the subject. He might remark, by the way, that the government of England were at this moment in possession of very accurate figures on the subject of absentee rents. Before the Land Bill was passed they made use of the Poor Law organization and its officers for the purpose of getting information on the subject for Parliament. What they meant to do with it he did not know, but he could tell the meeting that, on the best authority he could procure, the absentee rents of Ireland amounted to £5,000,000 sterling per annum. George Henry Moore, that good man, now departed—all honor be to his name—was determined to bring the question prominently before the British government, when God removed him from among us. He had said that every twenty years swept away £100,000,000 from this country. The late J. B. Dillon, M.P. for Tipperary, another patriotic man, had estimated that there were, in round numbers, £4,000,000 of absentee revenue or taxes—that is to say, money raised by taxation in this country and spent out of it. He would bring forward another figure on his own estimate, and he really believed that he undershot the mark. He could tell them that in procuring education for our youth in England there was certainly £3,000,000 more sent annually out of the country. That was a disgrace and an irreparable injury. It was not about the money he cared. He looked upon money as dirt in such a case. But if this thing went on, as he sometimes said to his Protestant friends, “if you choose to send your sons over to England for their education, if every vessel that crosses our channel be freighted with schoolboys as it is with pigs and cattle, you will soon reduce your country to the level of Jamaica.” The Irish people must not tolerate the destruction of liberal education among them. These young men come back disaffected to Ireland—not disaffected in the way he had often heard that word used, in Queen’s speeches, but disaffected in the very worst possible sense—disaffected towards the land in which they were born, and to the people with whom their infancy was spent. Not long ago he had been told by a gentleman of his acquaintance that he could not speak with temper on Irish questions

to his own son, whom he had sent to an English school, so insolent was he, and contemptuous in his language about his country even to his own father. The other day a great man—a very rich man, and great in that sense—the Marquis of Hertford, died in Paris. He was a member of parliament for Antrim in 1826, and had about £80,000 a-year of rents that he drew away from this country and spent in France. He saw by the papers that at his death he left the whole of it to an illegitimate son of his, born in the city of Paris, whom the French knew as Monsieur Richard, and a law-suit was about to be taken by his legitimate heirs against this man ; so here were the Irish people to stand by and look on while £80,000 a-year of their money was fought for as a prize between an English lord and a French bastard. This kind of thing was running away with the life-blood of the country. That man, the Marquis of Hertford, since 1842, when he succeeded to his father, had taken out of Ireland nearly two and a-half millions of money ; and if Monsieur Richard should win the law-suit, and live as long, he would make the sum up to five millions before he died.

Very often people, in speaking of this question, spoke of it as a Dublin question. It was very right that Dublin should have its share in it, but it was, really, an Irish question. Every man, coming from every county, town, and village in Ireland, ought to know it as his question ; but of course it was, in a very eminent degree, a Dublin question. Every man in Dublin who had a shop for business, a lodging to let, or a roof under which he could make a penny of money, ought to be with the Association through thick and thin. He held in his hand an almanac, compiled by Samuel Watson, of 48, Dame-street in the city of Dublin, in 1783, the year after the Declaration of Independence, and he counted in that book, between Nelson's Pillar and Granby-row, passing up Sackville-street, Cavendish-row, and Palace-row, the residences of twenty peers and thirty-six members of the House of Commons. Now, absenteeism was acknowledged as an evil by the *Times* newspaper itself ; but it had the audacity to say that the absence of the Irish Parliament did not increase absenteeism to any greater extent than existed before the Union. What bosh that was ! Had they now twenty lords and thirty-six members of Parliament residing within a circuit of five minutes' walk, and supporting the shops of the city with their custom and their money ? When they had their own Parliament, not less than eighty-six lords and two hundred and sixty commoners had their houses in the city of Dublin. Where are these to be found now? in the West End of London spending Irish money there. Now all they had was an announcement in the *Saunders*, the *Express*, or *Mail*, that my lord so-and-so and suite had arrived from England at the Shelbourne or the Bilton, where he would probably stay for one night, pay his bill, and then pay a flying visit to his estate before returning to England.

He was often in the habit of saying that Ireland was the finest country in the world, and the people of Ireland the finest people in the world. He would hear nothing to the contrary. Was that feeling

peculiar to himself? No! Only the other day a commissioner came from Canada to inspect the whole of Ireland as to primary education, and what did he tell an official gentleman at the close of his tour? He said that though he had visited many countries and states, he had never met more genial, more intelligent, or handsomer children than those of Old Ireland. Now, if that were so, were they to grow up to be men and women in the slavish condition in which those of the present generation were placed? (No!) He too said no. But to return to the *Spectator*. He would read the closing sentences, which were to this effect:—

"If these dependencies could be kept in union with Great Britain only by being weak and isolated, we would at once give up the hope of *continued union*. That which we desire earnestly to see, the steady growth of a certain pride and pleasure in their connection with the great state of which they are the offspring, is totally inconsistent with the feeling of abject dependence and solicitous need. The value of the imperial tie, in its highest sense, implies something near equality of position, the consciousness of power to give, no less than to receive, the existence of political pride and political intelligence of a high kind, all of which cannot possibly exist in feeble, fearful, and servile states."—(*Spectator*, 27th August, 1870.)

Cordially adopting these sentiments, he would add that, in his inmost heart, he felt that the safety and welfare of this empire depended upon the issue of this great question. It was a serious question for English statesmen; and although he was fully persuaded that they would get no assistance from their absentee nobility, he could not but think that the foremost of England's politicians, Mr. Gladstone, and his opponent, Mr. Disraeli, must be aware that the feeling of discontent arising from the causes to which he had referred as existing in Ireland, was a great danger to the empire—a danger which must at any cost be averted.

The Rev. P. Quaid, O'Callaghan's Mills, seconded the resolution, and expressed concurrence from his heart and soul with the sentiments uttered by Mr. Galbraith. They were not there, as had been said by a certain party, a secret society; but as a sacred society—a society sacred to the country, to its rights, and to justice—rights and justice which had been withheld for centuries from it. What were they there for? They were there to look for the repeal of an act of parliament, carried and fostered in the most ignominious manner that an act was ever fostered or carried in any country. They were there to ask for a repeal of that act which had been levied upon them by force and by fraud, through bloodshed and through bribery of the most barefaced kind—an act of parliament founded on every kind of injustice, and which had brought misery and misfortune and ruin and destruction upon Ireland. They were there to ask for a Native Parliament. Now how did their Parliament work before? Were they in misery or in desolation during its existence? He would answer that by asking was there ever a country on the face of the globe which prospered more than theirs with such a parliament—between 1782 and 1800? Was that not

enough to show that they should leave nothing undone in the endeavor to restore such an order of things ? They might be told, however, by people who admitted the desirability of Home Rule, and yet stood apart from them, that agitation is useless ; but to such he would reply : "What happened once may happen again." A short time before '82 they were told the same, yet towards the close of that year it came of itself ; and the cause which led to such an act then might point the way to a similar cause of procedure now. They were taunted that when they had the boon they now desired, they were corrupt, and sold and bartered it ; but, suppose they did, who made them corrupt ?—who bought it, and at what price ? Blood and gold. When was their Parliament wrested from them ? When they were weltering and bleeding and powerless from the horrors of '98. By many who avowed themselves friends of the cause their movement was considered premature ; but the reason that these people considered them too early was, that they were not themselves yet provided for. He happened to know some of these men, and they said to him, "Don't thwart a good and generous government." Good and generous !—a government that would first tell them that they would govern the country according to home ideas and opinions ; yet, some time ago, when he was speaking to the prime minister, he was informed that he meant by this phrase, "so far as English and Scotch opinions" admitted of it. He hesitated in joining that Association, because he was of opinion that it did not go far enough. He would be for restoring in its fullest sense Nationalism to the Irish people. He did not look upon the contract of 1800 as at all binding ; because a contract to be binding should be entered into with free will by both parties. His poor father suffered in '98. He had been many a night in the bushes, and he (the Rev. Mr. Quaid) would never forget the imprecation of that man in reference to the Union. He was not an educated man, for education at that time was an offence against the law, and the punishment for learning the alphabet was transportation. [The Rev. Mr. Quaid here spoke the imprecation in Irish.] The English of that was, "The country is robbed ; the country is ruined ; the justice and judgment of God will come upon the perpetrators"—and he raised his eyes to heaven, and added, "And that it may !" One of the perpetrators was a relative of his own—the accursed Fitzgibbon. And it did come upon him, and it came upon Castlereagh ; and from what thus happened to individuals for their wickedness in carrying the Union, English governments ought to learn a lesson, and take care lest they should receive like punishment if they persevered in opposing its repeal. The members of that Association were more sincere friends to the English empire and to the upholding of its constitution and permanency than those who were resisting the movement. A king of England once exclaimed, "Accursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects !" when his forces were swept by the expatriated Irish on the plains of France. He (the Rev. Mr. Quaid) did not throw this out in threat, but in all sincerity, as a warning to the English government to consider the question seriously. Let them concede what was really

due to Ireland. They might concede it when it was too late. A few years before 1782 half of what was then yielded would have been gratefully accepted. He implored the English government to consider this matter, and without delay to grant them their just rights.

The resolution was put by the chairman, and carried unanimously. James Vokes Mackey, Esq., J.P., proposed the next resolution :—

“That this constitutional restoration of our national autonomy is, in our opinion, the only solution of the Irish Question which will strengthen and consolidate, instead of disturbing society; banish the discontent now so widely prevailing; and ensure concord, tranquillity, true loyalty, and real prosperity, in this long distracted country.”

He hoped the day was not far distant when they would see in College-green their own Parliament, when men of all creeds and classes would strive together for their country’s good.

George Brown, Esq., M.P. (Mayo); seconded the resolution, and said it was with a feeling of pride that he stood on that platform at an inaugural meeting for the great object of obtaining again their National Parliament. He could not understand how it was that any man professing to be an Irishman would not join in that movement. There could be no doubt of the incalculable benefit it would confer on the country. No public business concerning the welfare of the country could be managed so well as by the people themselves. To succeed in their great object they should be persevering and unanimous. They should not evince apathy, and by persevering to the end they would in a short time again have a National Parliament.

Richard Grattan, M.D., Drummin House, county Kildare, on presenting himself, was received with prolonged cheering. He said that he had been taken by surprise—that he had attended the meeting as a matter of public duty, to listen to others, but not with an intention to speak. The secretary of the Association, however, had insisted on his taking part in the proceedings, as the member to whom a resolution had been entrusted was unavoidably absent. He proceeded to say that, from his advanced age, he feared he would not be able to address them with much effect, as his voice could not fill a room of such size as that in which they were assembled. The resolution he had to propose was the following :—

“That while this adjustment of the relations between the countries would equally benefit Ireland and strengthen the empire, we feel bound to record our solemn conviction that any design of continuing to force the existing system on the Irish people, to whom it is every day becoming more repugnant, and whose legitimate national aspirations it ignores or outrages, will eventually result in disasters which all good citizens should endeavor to avert.”

He felt assured that all would concur in the sentiment expressed in these words, and in the firm belief that Ireland would prosper under native rule to a greater extent even than she had suffered under centuries of English misgovernment. But for this purpose the people of Ireland should endeavor to achieve something practical—they should

not be content with mere words. They should at once make a strong and energetic effort to put an end to the system of persistent injustice and oppression under which Ireland has groaned during the last seventy years ; a system deliberately adopted by England with a view to pauperize this country, to cramp her trade, to destroy her manufactures, to exterminate her farmers and laborers.

Hence it is that such universal discontent pervades all classes in Ireland, and that Ireland, owing to the provocation given to her, and the incitements to sedition and insurrection rudely forced upon her, has never existed otherwise than in a state of antagonism to England. For this reason it is that there never has been, and never can be, a cordial union between the two countries ; England always perpetrating some act of aggression, Ireland hating, resisting, and defying the aggressor. The Rev. Professor Galbraith, to whose speech he had listened with much pleasure and instruction, had well remarked that “every nation, to be well governed and rendered obedient to the laws, must be governed according to the will of the people, and only by the laws made by those people.” Since the period of the Union, Ireland has never been so governed, and, therefore, has never had a single moment of internal peace. She has been torn to pieces by religious and political dissensions, and has existed in a perpetual state either of secret conspiracy or of open insurrection. The Habeas Corpus Act, has been a dozen times suspended ; penal enactments against the press, against public meetings, against the keeping of arms—enactments innumerable, subversive of all those rights which freemen most value, and which men in other countries would die to preserve—have been inflicted upon Ireland by the English people, recklessly, cruelly, and without the slightest sympathy for our sufferings. When patient and tranquil, we were told that we were happy, contented, and prosperous ; and that, therefore, no change in the system of government was necessary. When we assembled to complain and remonstrate, we were accused of being mutinous and disloyal—a nation so uncivilized and so unreclaimable, that it could be controlled only by the most stringent exercise of arbitrary power.

Such has been the case of Ireland from the beginning, such it now is, and so it will continue until England shall repent of her misdeeds, and make restitution by restoring to us our Parliament to meet in College-green, to make our own laws, and to manage for us all our own internal affairs.

It is for the attainment of this object that we are assembled here this day. We are met to inaugurate the formation of the Home Government Association, of which I am proud to be a member, and in the proceedings of which I hope to take an active part. For some years I have not made myself very prominent in public affairs, because the universal mind of the Irish people was not prepared to adopt the views which I had brought forward for the removal of our grievances, and more especially for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes. Long and dark has been the night of Ireland’s misery,

but the longest night must have an end, and even now the dawn of a new day breaks out in the distant sky to cheer and encourage us. The people of Ireland, hitherto divided into hostile camps, have resolved to lay aside their absurd prejudices, their senseless jealousies, their groundless suspicions of each other, engaging henceforth in the more enabling effort to co-operate in endeavoring to accomplish the regeneration of their common country. It rejoices me that I have lived to see this day ; for I scarcely dared to hope that I should stand on this platform, surrounded by so many distinguished men, representing all classes, all creeds, and of every shade of political opinion ; differing, yet conceding to each other the right to differ ; and agreeing, cordially and heartily agreeing, in their love of Ireland, and in their determination that Ireland shall once more be free—free to make her own laws for her own benefit.

Yes, I think this day of universal conciliation amongst Irishmen has arrived. It is more than sixty years since I attained the age of manhood. I have during all that time struggled with such exertion as an individual could make, to bring this day nearer to us. I have hoped against hope. I have been wearied waiting, until I almost despaired of being spared to witness it. It has arrived, and now the question arises, how are we to use the opportunity so as to obtain, and speedily, the great advantages which it offers ? Our course is plain : Ireland must be thoroughly organized throughout its entire extent and in all its departments. I have repeatedly expressed the opinion that it is essential to the success of any great national movement that it shall originate with the more numerous classes, in which resides the chief strength of the country. These classes must be taught to know their own rights, and encouraged in their efforts to maintain them. But they must labor for their country as well as for themselves. O'Connell, whose name and services Ireland will hold in perpetual memory, was fond of quoting, in his public speeches, the words of Byron—

“ Hereditary bondsmen ! know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow ?”

And what are we at this moment, when we possess not a shred of that constitution for which our fathers fought, which they wrested from tyrants, and which we their descendants claim as our birthright ? What are we but slaves and bondsmen, and in our own land ruled by the stranger, who despises us, and despises us the more because we yield to her a submissive and uncomplaining obedience ? Shall we petition ? Yes, by all means ; but petitions, however numerous, will avail nothing. Even a monster petition so heavy that it would require two porters to carry it into the English House of Commons, would only excite derisive laughter, and then be kicked out, to be sold as waste paper. No—petitioning is of no use : we must adopt an entirely new mode of political agitation. The people must first satisfy themselves that self-government is the only possible mode whereby Ireland can be raised from her

present prostrate and degraded position—that works of internal improvement never can be carried on—that trade, arts, commerce, never can thrive except under the fostering protection of a domestic legislature. This is the first step. The next should be—to call upon every man to pronounce for or against Home Government, and thus bring a pressure to bear on all whose acts can be influenced by an expression of public opinion.

In Ireland there are about 160 poor law unions. Each board of guardians is a body legally incorporated, holding its meetings openly, and bound, while it ministers to the relief of the poor, to protect the property of the ratepayer. In virtue of this double office, its duty is to devise means for the mitigation of poverty, and also for the general improvement of the country, so that pauperism may be prevented, and property be thus relieved from oppressive taxation. To the improvement of the country the Irish boards of guardians have paid no attention, having permitted themselves either to be intimidated or persuaded into the belief that their sole business is to carry into effect the arbitrary edicts of the Commissioners. This slavish obedience has been the cause of much mischief to Ireland, by destroying that feeling of independence and of self-reliance, which is so necessary to give energy and effect to the acts of a public board. The system must be changed, and this is to be accomplished by the ratepayers resolving not to elect as guardian any person who shall not profess himself a Nationalist, and become a member of this Association. With 160 unions thus nationalized, and acting in concert with each other for the common purpose of obtaining self-government for Ireland, there can be no doubt of the success of the present movement. A similar pressure should be applied to all our present parliamentary representatives. They should be required by the poor law guardians and freeholders in their respective counties, or corporations, to pronounce for or against Home Government. If our representatives were to be elected for the sole purpose of obtaining Repeal of the Act of Union, postponing every other question to it, and taking no heed as to who should or should not be minister—regardless altogether whether this or that English party shall be in or out of office, we could dictate to England, and instead of being petitioners, we might compel her to petition us to withdraw from her Parliament, and establish one for ourselves in College-green.

I view the matter in this light. The Union between England and Ireland is either a reality or a nullity. I assume it to be a reality. If so, the same law should exist in both kingdoms. The county of Cork in Ireland and Yorkshire in England should be governed alike. The Irish people should direct their representatives to insist on this, and make it their business to occupy the entire of the next session of the Imperial Parliament in interminable discussions raised night after night for the professed object of giving to Englishmen the benefits of the Irish Convention Act, the Peace Preservation Act, the Disendowment and Disestablishment of the English Church, the Landlord and Tenant Act, with a multitude of others, in the opinion of England

beneficial to Ireland, and of course equally applicable and beneficial to England. The English will tell us this is impossible. Impossible ! By no means. Let us only resolve to transfer political agitation from Ireland to England—from Dublin to London—from the Conciliation Hall to the House of Commons, and there fight the battle of Ireland in the way I recommend. Let our Irish members only do their duty—let there be an endless succession of “Irish rows”—let every debate be indefinitely protracted, so that actual legislation for every English purpose shall be arrested—and if this be the result—what then ? How long can such a system of deliberate annoyance continue ? Just for a single parliamentary session, and no longer. The English people, driven into a corner, check-mated, and not having a single move, must surrender. They must get rid of us on any terms. They must make some change, become Repealers, and petition us of Ireland to consent to Repeal. Long ago I said that Ireland could at any time command Repeal, if, instead of wasting her strength in monster meetings and shouting for Repeal, she would adopt some intelligible and practical plan to enforce it. That plan I now submit to the people. I say, emphatically—to the *People*, and I tell *them* that with them exclusively rests the power to obtain it.

I have been asked to give my opinion as to what should be the nature of the National Government of Ireland. I have been told by many, and especially by Catholic and Protestant clerics, who are, in virtue of their sacred office, advocates for peace, and of course opposed to all violent and revolutionary proceedings, that if Repeal were to be obtained, Ireland must pass into a state of anarchy—that a republic might be proclaimed, and an attempt made to separate England and Ireland, leading to a civil war, horrible to contemplate, and the end of which no living man could anticipate.

This feeling influences many who are at heart Repealers.

To meet this objection, I shall suggest a plan for self-government, which I have carefully considered, which I think would meet every difficulty, and for the merit or demerit of which I am alone responsible.

I propose, that every person who pays a tax of any kind shall possess the right to vote for a parliamentary representative. That there be elected by ballot four hundred representatives. That these shall meet in Dublin and choose a President. That they shall then select from amongst themselves one hundred to sit in the English parliament, to legislate for the empire at large ; but not to interfere, in any manner, in the internal affairs of Ireland. This body, while it represented the feelings of Ireland, would constitute the connecting link between Ireland and Great Britain. It would watch over the interests of Ireland ; control, in some degree, the national expenditure ; and compel the English minister to give us our fair share of it. At present England takes all and gives nothing.

This part of the subject being disposed of, I propose that the remaining three hundred shall elect also from among themselves one

hundred to deliberate separately from the remaining two hundred, so as to form a Senate and a House of Commons ; the President to preside in the Senate, the Commons to appoint their Speaker—the mode of election to be by ballot.

I think this a better plan than to go blindly about seeking for materials wherewith to form a House of Lords. The materials do not exist in Ireland. To establish in Ireland a House of Lords at a time when the people of England are clamoring for the extinction of theirs would show a want of foresight, and an inattention to the rapid advance of coming events, which we should not overlook. The United States of America will henceforth exert a powerful influence on the destiny of Ireland. Our geographical position places us almost in contact with free America, to the exclusion of England. If we could legislate for ourselves, Galway would become the rival of Liverpool. Our central railways and canals, under the one management, and devoted to promote the extension of the American trade, would render Dublin a great commercial city, rich and prosperous—no longer with an exterior, fair, it may be, to look upon, but with destitution and chronic disease ranking within.

I have only touched on these general questions with the intention to give you subjects for thought, not at all to urge them in exclusion of others to be perhaps more wisely adopted. People ! men of Ireland of all grades and sects, turn them over in your minds. The issue rests with you. Grattan liberated Ireland in days gone by. O'Connell emancipated Ireland in our memory. But who is to regenerate her ? I reply, no one. No minister, no legislative enactments, can give to any people that disinterestedness, self-reliance, and devotion to their country, which constitute at once its glory and its strength. Wanting these, all efforts at improvement must fail. Possessed of these, an educated and patriotic people, governed by their own laws, will respect the law and uphold its supremacy. It will respect and defend the rights of property. It will protect all classes, measuring to each equal justice. It will need no penal laws, no standing army will be necessary. The Irish volunteers and the present constabulary force, converted into an Irish brigade, will defend our own land from foreign or domestic foes. England will be freed from her apprehensions of hostility from Ireland. But if she shall not do us justice, by restoring to us our long-lost nationality, I predict that, in the first hour of England's coming danger, when involved in a continental war, Ireland will throw herself into the arms of the great American republic. Far be it from me to wish for this. I should regard it as a calamity, the evil of which would be greater than any benefit we could derive from it. I am of opinion that a monarchical is preferable to a republican form of government. This is the opinion of the more thoughtful and considerate of the Irish people. What we require is a local, but steady and permanent, form of constitutional government. Every man in Ireland is persuaded that the British constitution, if we possessed it, is the one best suited to these countries, and that, if freed from the imperfections and gross abuses with which it is overloaded, it would, while it guarded our rights,

secure us against dangerous and uncalled-for changes. These are my views. I have not hastily adopted them. I have entertained them for years. Men of Ireland, stand forward and do your duty. Follow my advice, and rest certain, beyond all doubt, that the Act of Union must be repealed. Sons of labor, labor earnestly in your country's cause, and success must crown your efforts. Peace and contentment, and an enduring prosperity, will then extend their blessings to all. Our descendants will keep in grateful recollection our names, and we ourselves shall depart, cheered in our latest hours by the consciousness that we have deserved well of our country, and have left Ireland more flourishing and more honored than we found her.

The Rev. George M'Cutchan, of Kenmare, having been called on, said he had the honor to second the resolution which had been proposed by one who, although his voice might not have reached them all, bears a name that is entitled more than any other to the homage and the gratitude of every Irishman that loves his country. He must frankly say, that when he came into that room, he had determined to abide by the reply he had given to the secretary in declining to speak from a political platform. But when he looked on the men around him, and heard the objects proposed to this meeting, he felt that there was nothing to deter one who wishes to recommend and to practise peace from taking a share in its proceedings. He believed that meeting had surpassed the most sanguine expectations of those who desired its prosperity. No one could say that they had assembled merely to get up a new agitation. On this subject our countrymen do not need agitation in order to bring them to a common mind; and if the committee, who knew well the political society of Dublin, had chosen to fill that room with a vociferous audience, they would have found no difficulty in doing so. But their purpose was more earnest, and looked more to the future than to the past; and nothing could more surely prove this than the sobriety and earnestness which had marked the entire proceedings of that day. They had listened to speeches full of warmth and of common sense, but had not heard one word that could be distasteful to the ears of an Englishman. He was not acquainted with very many members of the Association, but he knew at least one Englishman and one Scotchman who have given it their adhesion. They should not expect the opposition of Englishmen to the objects they had set before them. The English people had a country of which they were justly proud. They, too, had a country of which they were as proud, and which they sought to make more worthy of their pride. They must not, therefore, apprehend the opposition of individual Englishmen, while they sought to secure what Englishmen already possessed :—

“ A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent.”

They sought to undo the evils and misfortunes of government,

of which every man in this land was conscious, and which every honest Englishman confessed. They had to complain of absenteeism, of the unequal distribution of taxes, and of the want of public works. When he spoke of absentees, he meant those whose property lay chiefly or entirely in Ireland—men who ought to spend their fortunes in this country, and do not. Some persons, who argued the question of a native parliament, seemed to forget that there is an Irish peerage. If the Houses of Lords and Commons met in College-green, they might expect that in the chief streets and squares of the city they should again find the residences of men of large wealth, spending their money in the country, making themselves practically acquainted with its wants, and able therefore to legislate for the land in a way in which the Imperial Parliament is not capable, from its comparative ignorance. Again, they had to complain that Ireland pays more taxes in proportion to the wealth of her people than any other portion of the United Kingdom. Mr. Fisher, of Waterford, had made that plain in his publications, and he afterwards was able to obtain a parliamentary return that made it more manifest still. As to their public works, they were not only insignificant in number, but those which were grudgingly begun had been grossly mismanaged. Three months ago, in one of the most English of the English periodicals—in *Frazer's Magazine*—there appeared an article upon the improvements of the Shannon, in which it was shown, that, after a large expenditure of money in the payment of English engineers, the navigation of the river had been left needlessly difficult and incomplete, and the drainage was so imperfect that periodical inundations still caused a large annual loss to the owners of the neighboring lands, and discomfort and loss to the farmers.

They should, then, gain at least these practical advantages through the success of the movement they inaugurated to-day: they could bring back the lords and the rich commoners of Ireland to reside here for at least a portion of the year; they could obtain a readjustment of their excessive taxation; and public works might be efficiently administered and much more extensively carried on. But there was one greater thing left for the movement to accomplish. It had to give an articulate voice to the national sentiments of the people of Ireland. The belief that it could accomplish this purpose was the motive which led him to offer his support. He thought he might say, without exaggeration, that at least seven-eighths of the people of Ireland loved their country. He would deduct that fraction of men who did not share either in its sorrows or its hopes. He did not claim them as Irishmen. But he thought he might safely say that seven-eighths of the people loved the soil that gave them birth with a deep and serious love not known in many other nations of the world. How did they see this love of fatherland manifested in this country? There were some who said that it was manifested in the outrages that had been perpetrated not very long ago. He indignantly repudiated that opinion. He emphatically denied that the coward who crouched behind a hedge

to shoot at an honest man as he passed along the road, was worthy of the name of Irishman. That man did his country more injustice than anyone that lived in England, for he sullied its fair name, and brought on it dishonor that others cannot wipe out. But besides that alleged expression of national feeling, which he declared to be untrue, there was the existence of secret societies. He deplored those secret societies ; he was sorry that the habit of forming them had grown among us ; he was sorry also that they had ever seemed to be justified. For seventy years the English government had found itself unable to put an end to them ; and its hand was as powerless to-day as it had been during any portion of that period. There was but one way to put an end to those illegitimate expressions of opinion—to make a fair, open, constitutional expression of opinion possible ; and that was done by this Association. He had scarcely hoped that the day would come so soon when Irishmen of various creeds and of different political views should be found united, as they were to-day, in a common purpose for the benefit of their fatherland. They had met as loyal men, in a constitutional way, to seek the accomplishment of their desires, which were right, and fair, and just ; and he held the hope that this Association, in carrying to a successful end its great and equitable purposes, would not only succeed in making our countrymen in earnest when they cry, "God save the Queen," but would also draw from all their hearts with equal earnestness and loyalty, and not less passionate enthusiasm, the prayer of "God save Ireland." (Loud and prolonged cheering, after which the resolution was put and carried amidst renewed applause).

Mr. Wm. Keating Clay, solicitor, who was next called upon to address the meeting, said he felt proud and honored at being entrusted with such a resolution as the one that had been placed in his hands. He should have shrunk with much diffidence from addressing that meeting—composed as it was of so many men of great intelligence as he saw around him—but he took his watchword from a man whose illustrious name had just been mentioned, Grattan, and he believed that the time had come when every man, no matter how feeble his voice, should raise it in behalf of this movement, which had a common centre and a common object, namely, to unite every Irish heart for the weal of the common country. The very life-blood of the movement consisted in unity and tolerance. From the earliest days of their history, and he was sure almost all present were aware of it, from the times of the Henrys and Strafford, down to the time corruption robbed them of their parliament, the only bane under which Irishmen suffered was when there was disunion. They must have unity, singleness of object, abnegation of self, and a universal desire to carry out their purpose ; and though some might hesitate, though some might hold back, no one could deprive a people of the right to rule themselves according to their own wishes and wants. The resolution he had to propose was as follows :—

" That the demand for Home Rule has ceased to be a party question, and the time has arrived when Irishmen of every class and creed—Catholic, Pro-

testant, Episcopalian, and Dissenter—the peer, the merchant, and the peasant—should cordially combine in a resolute determination to secure for their country the right to manage its own affairs."

When that time came, and when that purpose became instilled into their hearts, as he felt it was that day, they might be said to be worthy of the description given by a very able man of the Romans, that no one was for a party, but all were for the state. There was only one topic on which he would touch, and that was the bugbear, that there would be only party legislation after all if they had Home Government. That had been the cry of all who wished to retard progress, and retard union ; and it had been said that if Catholic judges were on the bench the Protestants would get very scant justice. Now, there were several Catholic judges at present, men who adorned the bench in the highest way, who were an honor to their country, and who dispensed the laws with equal and even-handed justice. There had been mentioned that day the name of one judge who did honor to every Irishman—the name of one who had been raised to the highest judicial position in the land. He had been ennobled so far as man could give him nobility ; but by his kindness of heart, and by his love of justice, no greater man had ever adorned the bench than the right hon. Thomas O'Hagan, now lord O'Hagan. In conclusion he would say that, if they made a long pull and a strong pull, and a pull all together, they would yet, as a nation, be great and glorious. Thank God, they were free, to a great extent, now ; for those old shackles which bound them, and which were a disgrace, and the odium of the world, had fallen away ; and they would yet realize the words of the poet, and be the

"First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea."

Mr. W. Brown, of the Victoria and Albert Docks, Cork, seconded the resolution. After the lengthened addresses already delivered, he need only say that his heart and soul were with those who sought to achieve Home Rule for Ireland.

The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was unanimously accepted.

Dr. Little, F.R.C.S. (St. Stephen's-green), moved the next resolution, as follows :—

"That we here solemnly pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, to enter earnestly upon this national movement, burying for our country's sake all by-gone feuds and bitter memories ; and we appeal to our countrymen of every class and creed to join us in this united effort to secure the happiness and freedom of our native land."

He rejoiced that this his first public speech was in the cause of fatherland. From his earliest years, he had felt an earnest desire to labor for the independence and prosperity of his country. He claimed little credit for that sentiment, which was almost an instinct of the human heart—

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said,
‘This is my own, my native land.’”

In former organizations he had been unable to join, as he could not discover in any the elements of success. None enlisted the sympathies of Irishmen irrespective of creed and class. He could not approve of an appeal to arms, ready and willing as he might be to go to the front, for what chance would we have in such a conflict with the British empire? It would be worse than folly to resort to such a course. Nor could he approve of other associations, such as that founded by the disinterested patriot John Martin. They had all failed to win the confidence of Irishmen of different religious and political views. No doubt also the times were inopportune. We are now more favored. A blessed social change is being effected in this country, consequent on recent legislation; sectarian feuds are being for ever banished, and Irishmen of all classes unite in love for their common country, and resolve for her national independence. The present movement for home rule is the medium of realizing this happy consummation. Its members, though they differ widely upon many points, are of one mind as to the object of the Association. They have learned a lesson as to the necessity of religious toleration. No longer will our British rulers perpetuate their sway by exciting religious animosities. “Divide and conquer” has been the motto of our enemies. Our motto must be union, mutual toleration, and perseverance. By these means we shall acquire what is most estimable in life—national freedom. The Rev. Professor Galbraith has referred to home rule in Australia, where it flourishes with the consent of Great Britain. I may be permitted to give another example of a like kind. In British North America even the smallest colonies, such as Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, enjoy the right of making their own laws. The largest of these colonies recently attempted to usurp that right, and has partially succeeded. The result has been there similar to what followed our so-called Union—large increase of taxation and widespread discontent. With some further observations, Dr. Little called upon all creeds and classes to make an united and ceaseless effort to regain Ireland’s independence. He concluded amidst applause.

Captain Morgan, of Raheenderry, Athy, then rose and stated that it was only within the last few minutes that he heard he was to be called on to second the resolution which it now gave him great pleasure to do. It was the first time he had ever spoken in public, and therefore he trusted any errors or tautology would be excused. Although not born in Ireland, he had lived in it three years, and he yielded to no Irishman in his wish to advance Ireland’s welfare. He had seen a great deal of the Irish character, and his conviction was that, properly treated, there were no better people in the world than the Irish—but if neglected and injured, they knew how to turn on those that were the cause. He thought Ireland had reason to be dissatisfied with late legislation—indeed, with the legislation of many years; but how could it be expected that men who knew little of Ireland and her people could

legislate properly for her interests? He had no fear that, if Ireland secured the management of her own affairs, religious bigotry on any side would prevail. During seventeen years he was in a regiment that had more Roman Catholics than Protestants, and he never remembered any religious prejudice or discussion to interfere with the harmony that prevailed. He had faith in this movement, and he believed that, if both parties united, as he felt sure they would do, particularly in so good a cause, adopting the motto, "Nil desperandum," and advancing gradually onwards, they must eventually obtain what, in his humble opinion, must be a great boon to the country, viz., a Federal Parliament for Ireland.

Alderman J. W. Mackey, J.P., *locum tenens* of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, having been moved from the chair, Alderman James Plunket eloquently moved, and J. F. Biggs, Esq., Bellgrove, Clontarf, seconded in an able speech,

"That William Shaw, Esq., M.P., Bandon, do now take the chair, and that a cordial vote of thanks be accorded to the chairman, Alderman J. W. Mackey, for the efficient and distinguished manner with which he has this day filled the chair."

The resolution was passed with acclamation, after which Alderman Mackey returned thanks, and the meeting separated.

APPENDIX.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND FROM THE HOME GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

AT a Meeting of the Committee of the Home Government Association, held at their Rooms, 63, Grafton-street, on Wednesday, 7th September, 1870, the following Resolution was moved by Mr. Betagh, and seconded by Mr. O'Byrne:

Resolved—That the address for publication submitted by the Sub-Committee be adopted.

(Signed)

H. H. STEWART, *Chairman.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—The time is come when we think it our duty publicly to address you, and to invite your co-operation in attaining the object which we are associated to promote.

That object is the restoration to Ireland of that right of domestic legislation, without which Ireland can never enjoy real prosperity or peace.

We have resolved with one consent to ask that restoration.

We have also resolved to accompany this with a proposal of such a Federal Union between the three portions of the United Kingdom as may still combine them into one great Imperial

State. We are sure that in such a union there is nothing derogatory to the dignity or inconsistent with the freedom and welfare of Ireland. On the contrary, we believe that such a federal arrangement ought naturally to have followed the assertion of Ireland's independence by the Volunteers of 1782. If such an arrangement had been entered into, instead of the destruction of the Irish Parliament, we are persuaded that Ireland would be now a free, a happy, and a contented country.

The time is favorable for pressing such an arrangement on the English Parliament and Government. Two years ago they desired to unite into one Dominion the North American provinces of the British Crown. The course taken in the statute which effected this was to leave to each province its own separate Parliament for the management of its own affairs, and to establish for the affairs of the Dominion at large one united Parliament, to which each province sends its representatives.

In this statute we have the recent and remarkable admission of the principle, that where it is desirable to combine two separate countries into one State, that combination ought to be effected without the destruction of the separate government and parliament of each.

This is just the principle which we contend ought to be applied to Ireland. The example of the Canadian Dominion is sufficient to establish that there is no inconsistency between a union of two countries in one parliament, and the preservation of local self-government for each.

We do not undertake to fix the limits of the power which ought to be assigned to an Imperial and an Irish Parliament. We have in our resolutions indicated the broad principles upon which the division of power should be based. It is easy to find abundant precedents and examples, not only in the incorporation of Canada, but in Federal unions existing in every part of the world, and under every form of government. All we now assert is the great principle that Ireland needs a Parliament of her own, and that this Parliament ought to have the management of Irish affairs, while we are willing to concede to a combined Parliament all powers that can be shown to be necessary to maintain the integrity and unity of the countries.

The time is not come for offering the complete plan of such a Federal Union. That must come with the authority of united Ireland. At present we invite the adhesion of all who are willing to co-operate in the general object of obtaining for Ireland a Parliament of our own. When our Association becomes strong enough to recommend such a step, we propose to invite our countrymen to meet in a general Conference finally to settle on the details of a plan such as Ireland may present for acceptance to the English Parliament and Ministers.

We have pledged ourselves that we seek nothing revolutionary. We desire the restoration of the old institutions of Sovereign, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, a Constitution under which, we

believe, the prerogatives of the monarchy, the rights of property, and the privileges of the people would be all equally secure.

We cannot at present propose the exact framework of an Irish House. This, like the plan of a Federal Union, should be the work of the proposed Conference—a Conference in which all classes of the Irish nation should be fully and adequately represented.

We cannot too strongly or too emphatically disclaim any purpose or object of any religious ascendancy, or any attack upon the property or rights of anyone. We do so distinctly for each and every man who is a member of our body. There is not one of us who would not be ready to adopt the principle of some of the American States, which declares it a fundamental and inviolable part of the Constitution that religious equality shall for ever be preserved. There is not one of us who would not assent to the provision so often inserted in the oaths imposed on the Irish people that the existing settlement of property should never be disturbed.

We invite any of our countrymen who may have the most remote apprehension of danger from the Irish Parliament to their religion, their liberty, or their property, to suggest any guarantee, to be made an inviolable part of the Constitution which we seek.

Upon these principles we invite the aid of all Irishmen. In the name of our country we implore of them to forget those dissensions and distrusts which have so long divided and cursed our country. In the ranks of our Association, even as it stands to-day, we present to them a proof that it is possible to bring together Irishmen hitherto separated, and unite them in their country's common cause. We have proved more—we have shown that we can differ under circumstances calculated to try our union, and yet forget those differences when called on to meet as Irishmen and as friends. If our countrymen will respond in the same spirit to the call we make to them, the day is not far distant when Irishmen will, in their union, prove themselves worthy of self-government, and, in so proving themselves, must assuredly obtain it.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

1. This Association is formed for the purpose of obtaining for Ireland a Federal Parliament.

2. It is hereby declared, as the essential principle of this Association, that the objects and THE ONLY OBJECTS contemplated by its organization are :

To obtain for our country the right and privilege of managing our own affairs, by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, composed of Her Majesty the Sovereign, and her successors, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

To secure for that Parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, and control over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing our just proportion of the Imperial expenditure.

To leave to an Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and government, legislation regarding the Colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the United Empire with foreign states, and all matters appertaining to the defence and the stability of the Empire at large.

To attain such an adjustment of the relations between the two countries, without any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown, or any disturbance of the principles of the constitution.

3. The Association invites the co-operation of all Irishmen who are willing to join in seeking for Ireland a federal arrangement based upon these general principles.

4. The Association will endeavor to forward the object it has in view by using all legitimate means of influencing public sentiment, both in Ireland and Great Britain, by taking all opportunities of instructing and informing public opinion, and by seeking to unite Irishmen of all creeds and classes in one national movement in support of the great national object hereby contemplated.

5. It is declared to be an essential principle of the Association, that while every member is understood by joining it to concur in its general object and plan of action, no person so joining is committed to any political opinion, except in the advisability of seeking for Ireland the amount of self-government contemplated in the objects of the Association.

OFFICERS AND CONSTITUTION.

6. The Association shall consist of an unlimited number of Members who shall each pay £1 annually.

7. General Meetings of the Association shall be held at the times and in the manner hereinafter provided.

8. The members shall elect, in the manner following, sixty-one of their number, to be, with the officers hereinafter mentioned, the General Committee of management, of whom eleven shall be a quorum :—

By the first Monday of August in each year, the Secretary shall compile and have printed a complete list, in alphabetical order, of all members whose subscriptions are not in arrear, and in the case of each annual election after the one first held, who shall have been members for three months, leaving a space for written initials on the left hand side of each name. The Managing Committee shall within the three following days inspect said list, and correct and certify it, and thereupon the Secretary shall forward by post to the address of each such paid-up member, a copy of said corrected list. Each such member, desirous of voting in the election of the General Committee, shall thereupon place the initials of his name in the space immediately to the left-hand side of the name of each person whom he votes for to be a member of the General Committee (sixty-one in number), and he shall himself sign his name at foot of said list, and transmit same to the General Committee. A less number of names than sixty-one may be initialed on a list, such names duly receiving such vote ; but if a greater number than sixty-one be initialed on a list, the whole shall be lost, provided always that the miscarriage of any such list or lists, either to or from the members, shall not invalidate any election. The General Committee shall appoint three Scrutineers to examine all the lists received up to the close of the fourteenth day next following upon the first Monday in August. The report of said Scrutineers, when unanimous, shall be final ; and the sixty-one names so reported as having the highest number of votes shall be declared duly elected as the General Committee for the year commencing on the 1st September, next following. If the Scrutineers be not unanimous on any point, the existing General Committee shall finally decide it ; and in the event of two or more persons having an equality of votes, on the scrutiny for the sixty-first place on the General Committee, the General Committee shall select which of them shall be declared duly elected. A copy of this rule to be printed at the head of each voting list when sent, as above prescribed, to the members.

9. The General Committee shall elect standing sub-committees of Finance, Organization, and Publication ; each such sub-committee to consist of seven members, three of whom, exclusive of officials, shall form a quorum.

10. The General Committee and each sub-committee shall at each meeting elect its own chairman.

11. They shall elect three or more persons to be Honorary Secretaries to the Association, and three or more persons to be Treasurers. The Honorary Secretaries shall be ex-officio members of the General Committee, and of every standing sub-committee, except the Committee of Finance.

12. Standing sub-committees shall be hereafter appointed for such purposes as may appear necessary, in the manner provided by Rule 9.

13. Each sub-committee may lay down rules for the transaction of its own business, subject to the approval of the General Committee.

14. The General Committee may, in the first instance, appoint a paid Secretary. They may appoint more than one Secretary, should more than one be voted necessary by them, and should such necessity be affirmed by a subsequent vote of a meeting of the Association. The General Committee shall have the power to appoint paid officers of every degree, subordinate to the Secretary or Secretaries, as they, the General Committee, may think fit, and at such salaries as they shall think proper. The Secretaries may be present at, and speak at, all committee meetings, but they shall have no vote.

15. It shall be the duty of the sub-committee of organization to

devise and submit to the General Committee, and through them to the Association, plans for extending the Association and placing it upon a wider basis, and to take for that purpose such steps as may be authorized by the vote of the General Committee.

16. It shall be the duty of the sub-committee of publication to prepare addresses to the Public and other documents calculated to forward the objects of the Association, and submit them to the General Committee, and to take such steps for their publication as may be authorized by the vote of the General Committee.

17. The General Committee are charged with the general management of affairs, and the duty of devising plans for furthering the interests of the Association and the cause, and they, as well as every ordinary sub-committee, shall report their transactions monthly to the Association.

MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

18. Meetings of the Association shall be held at least once a month, or at such more frequent times as the General Committee or the Association may direct.

19. The General Committee may at any time convene a meeting of the Association by giving three clear days' notice in three or more daily papers published in Dublin.

20. Business of meetings of the Association shall be transacted as follows :—

I. Appointment of the chairman.

II. Minutes of last meeting to be read, and if correct to be signed.

III. Correspondence which has passed through sub-committee, and sent by them to be read, shall be considered.

IV. Minutes or reports of General Committee and sub-committees to be read.

V. Motions of which notice has been given.

VI. No motion shall be moved without seven days' notice in writing to the Secretary, said notice to be posted by him on a conspicuous notice-board in the General Committee Room, unless by-laws be suspended for the purpose.

21. The rules of order and debate at all meetings of the Association shall be the same, so far as practicable, as those observed in the House of Commons.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

22. Members shall be admitted at General Meetings of the Association by resolution and by open vote—but no person shall be proposed as a Member unless his name has been previously submitted to a meeting of the General Committee and approved of by them. No person shall be entitled to act in any way as a Member until his subscription of £1 be paid.

FUNDS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

23. In addition to his original subscription of £1, every Member shall, on the 1st of June in each year, until the object of the Association is attained, pay an annual subscription of £1, and no Member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to act as a Member.

24. In addition to the subscriptions of Members, the Association invite contributions to aid them in carrying out their objects.

25. All moneys of the Association shall be lodged in bank to the credit of the Treasurers, and drawn out in such way as the Finance Committee may direct.

26. The General Committee shall have power to incur the ordinary

and necessary expenses incidental to the business of the Association, such as salaries, rent, stationery, and like expenses ; but no money shall be applied to any special or extraordinary purpose without a vote of a General Meeting of the Association, authorizing such expenditure on the recommendation of the General Committee.

27. No payment shall be made except upon a resolution of the Finance Committee, whose duty it shall be to check all accounts or requests for payment.

28. A paid Auditor shall be appointed by the Association, whose duty it shall be to examine and vouch each monthly account, and certify to the Association that he has done so.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

29. The Public Meetings of the Association shall be open to the Press and the public generally, under such regulations as the General Committee may think fit to impose.

30. If for any reason it should appear to the General Committee inexpedient that any Member of the Association should continue to be such, they shall have power to pass a resolution recommending that he should cease to be a member. If such recommendation is adopted by a General Meeting of the Association, the person named therein shall immediately cease to be a Member of the Association ; provided that the motion to that effect shall have been passed at a General Meeting to be specially called for that purpose.

31. The General Committee, and every sub-committee, shall keep a minute book, in which all the proceedings of the Committee shall be recorded.

32. All the acts of the Committee and every sub-committee shall be subject to the control of the Association, and may be brought by any member under the notice of a General Meeting, which shall have full power to direct the future action of such Committee in reference to same.

33. A General Meeting of the Association shall have full power, by resolutions duly passed, to remove any officer of the Association, or any Member of the Committee or any sub-committee.

34. Vacancies occurring at any time in any committee or sub-committee shall be reported to the Association, and filled up at a General Meeting.

35. The Association may vary, rescind, or add to these by-laws, by a vote of a meeting of the Members of the Association ; such meeting to be specially convened for that purpose.

36. Any one of these by-laws may, at any ordinary meeting or special General Meeting of the Association, for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of urgent business, be suspended by a vote of three-fourths of the members.

37. That the General Committee, upon receiving a requisition signed by forty members, shall call a General Meeting of the Association for any special purpose, in accordance with the provision of Rule 19.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

- Nicholas N. Aherne, Ballybane Cottage, Cloyne.
 Charles Allen, Grafton-street.
 John Allingham, Prov. Bank, Waterford.
 Michael A. Anthony, Chairman, T.C., Dungarvan.
 George Austin, Town Commissioner of Clontarf, Winstonville.
 William T. Austin, 7, Leinster-road.
 Rev. John Knox Barklie, A.B., Rector of Outeragh, Ballinamore.
 F. P. Barnes, Civil Engineer, Stillorgan Park.
 W. D. Barnett, Crosbie House, 95, Bishopsgate-street, London, E.C.
 Rev. Jas. Barnier, L.L.D., Dungarvan.
 Sir John Barrington, Ex-Lord Mayor, J.P., D.L., Belville, Kingstown.
 Andrew Barry, Smithfield.
 Dr. Barry, Richmond-hill, Rathmines.
 Geo. W. Basset, *Southern Chronicle*, Limerick.
 John A. Bealin, T.C. Boyle.
 George Beatty, Henrietta-street.
 Joseph Begg, Capel-street.
 D. C. Bell, 1, Kildare-place.
 Dr. Bennett, Bruff.
 J. F. Biggs, Town Commissioner of Clontarf, Bellegrove.
 James Blackwell, T.C., Rathkeale.
 J. Ambrose Bole, *Mayo Constitution*, Castlebar.
 Ambrose Bole, J.P., Park-place, Tashenny, Westmeath.
 R. W. Boyle, Banker, College-green.
 Thomas C. Bracken, T.C., Athlone.
 Patrick M. Brady, T.C., Drogheda.
 Patrick Brady, Lower Baggot-street.
 James Brady, T.C., Cavan.
 Laurence Brangan, Old Carton, Maynooth.
 Simon Brazil, Georges-st., Kingstown.
 J. Bridgford, 48, Lower Sackville-st.
 John Fetherstonhaugh Briscoe, J.P., Grangemore, Killucan.
 Francis Brodigan, J.P., Pilton House, county Meath.
 John Bruce, T.C., Rose Cottage, Bray.
 William Brunton, Henry-street.
 Arthur Browne, Enniscorthy.
 William Brown, Dock Mills, Dublin.
 George Browne, M.P., Mayo.
 Very Rev. Archdeacon Brown, P.P., Castlebar.
 Henry E. Brown, Redmond's hill.
 Edmond Browne, T.C. Carrick-on-Suir.
 William Brown, Passage West.
 J. Hamilton Bryan, J.P., Prospect-hill, Dunmanway.
 Rev. R. W. Buckley, A.M., St. Mary's, Alderman Patrick Bulfin, J.P., Lord Mayor Elect, Dublin.
 Francis Burton, J.P., Carrigaholt Castle, Carrigaholt.
 William Bury, T.C., Mountjoy-square.
 Isaac Butt, Q.C., Eccles-street.
 R. B. Butt, Eccles-street.
 Geo. Butterly, Sub-sheriff, Drogheda.
 John Butler, T.C., Callan.
 John P. Byrne, J.P., Gardiner's-place.
 James Byrne, President, Mallow Farmers' Club.
 Patk. Byrne, 30, West-st. Drogheda.
 Patrick Byrne, Naas.
 Robert Callow, T.C., Westland-row.
 Phillip Callan, M.P., Dundalk.
 Wm. Campbell, 26, Gardiner's-place.
 Rev. Andrew Campbell, D.D., Mariners' Church.
 James Cantwell, D'Olier-street.
 Edward Carey, Lower Ormond-quay.
 Michael Carey, T.C., Rathgar.
 Patrick Carey, City Mansion Hotel.
 Edward Carey, T.C., Templemore.
 Rev. F. F. Carmichael, A.M., Magdalene Asylum.
 Nicholas Carolan, Dundalk.
 Rev. James Anderson Carr, Rector, Tullymelan, Treas. Cath. Lismore.
 Edward Carrigan, Bachelors'-walk.
 Rev. W. G. Carroll, A. M., St. Bride's.
 D. W. Carroll, Sackville-street.
 E. H. Carson, Harcourt-street.
 John Carvill, Sir J. Rogerson's-quay.
 John Chandee, Baltinglass.
 Wm. Chartres, Aughnaloo, county Fermanagh.
 John H. Chomley, P.L.G., Belcamp, Artane.
 Joseph Clampett, Waterford.
 Michael Cloran, Chairman T.C., Tuam.
 Wm. Keating Clay, Rutland-square.
 Robert Keating Clay, Rutland-square.
 Thos. Coatsworth, Gt. Brunswick-st.
 John Cochrane, William-street.
 Michael Coen, T.C., Ballina.
 W. D. Cole, Waterford.
 Rev. John Collins, C.C., Hermitage, Tracton, Kinsale.

- Francis Lorenzo Coyynn, J.P., ex-High Sheriff, Woodstock, Galway.
- J. Comyns, 10, College-green.
- A. Commins, LL.D., Eldon Chambers, South John-street, Liverpool.
- Rev. J. Concannon, C.C., Newport.
- Patrick Condon, T.C., Rathkeale.
- John Tell Connick, P.L.G., Quay-st., Dundalk.
- Charles Connolly, Rogerson's-quay.
- Craig, Shipbuilder, Passage West.
- J. Cramsie, Lisavon, Belfast.
- Henry M. E. Crofton, J.P., Inchinappa, Ashford, county Wicklow.
- Bartholomew Courtney, Jun., Fair-street, Drogheda.
- Michael Cullen, T.C., Drogheda.
- Richard Cunningham, Kill, Straffan.
- Rev. Michael Curly, P.P., Louisburg, county Mayo.
- Peter Daly, Tuam.
- William Daly, 4, College-green.
- William Daniel, Mary-street.
- John D'Arcy, Commercial Buildings, Dublin.
- W. J. O'Neill Daunt, Kilcaskin Castle, county Cork.
- William Deaker, P.L.G., Eden-quay.
- A. B. De Burgh, Knockakelly, Temple-derry.
- Bernard Delany, J.P., LL.D., Castlewood, Durrow.
- George Delany, Lower Fitzwilliam-st.
- Peter Dempsey, Nassau-street.
- William Dempsey, T.C., Up Stephen-street.
- Charles McH. Denvir, Dundalk.
- John Denvir, *Northern Press*, 19, Moorfields, Liverpool.
- J. J. Dodd, York-street.
- Patrick Dolan, T.C., 110, Thomas-st.
- John Dolan, Berkeley-street.
- James Donnelly, Upper Temple-street.
- John Downing, T.C., Fermoy.
- John Purcell Downes, T.C., Carrickmacross.
- Alexander Somers Drake, J.P., Rathvaled, Athboy.
- Patrick Dunne, Chairman T.C., Callan.
- Nicholas Dunscombe, J.P., King William's Town, county Cork.
- James Dergan, 93, Lr. Dorset-street.
- Alderman James Dwyer, Cork.
- Anthony Dwyer, Chairman T.C., Thurles.
- Henry Alfred Eades, 5, Philipsburg-avenue.
- A. O'Connor Eccles, *Roscommon Messenger*.
- Patrick Egan, Great Britain-street.
- W. Ledger Erson, J.P., Great Charles-street.
- P. McCabe Fay, 50, Thomas-street.
- Hugh Feeny, T.C., Castlebar.
- Joseph Fisher, Waterford.
- George Fitzgerald, Brunswick-street.
- W. Foster Vesey Fitzgerald, J.P., Moyvane, Newtown Sandes, county Kerry.
- Gerald P. Fitzgerald, The Island, Waterford.
- Michael J. Fitzgerald, Barrister, Ballykenelly, Castlemartyr.
- A. R. Fitzgerald, Tramore.
- Henry Fitzgibbon, Castlerea.
- Henry Fitzmaurice, Howth, and Fownes-street, Dublin.
- James A. Flanagan, T.C., Drogheda.
- James Flanagan, Essex-street.
- John Fleming, South Great George's-st.
- Rev. James Fletcher, A.M., Rector, Bonmahon, county Cork.
- Rev. Richard Fletcher, A.M., Rector, Cappoquin.
- Richard Flynn, Tulsk, Roscommon.
- J. W. Foley, 5, Victoria-parade, Fairview.
- Samuel L. Forde, T.C., Roscommon.
- Michael Foster, Lower Hurst-street, Birmingham.
- Lieut.-Colonel F. T. French, Duke-street, St. James's, London.
- Rev. A. S. Fuller, A.M., St. Mark's.
- Rev. Joseph A. Galbraith, F.T.C.D., Trinity College.
- William Gallagher, T.C., Ballina.
- George Gearty, Strokestown.
- John Gearty, junr., Strokestown.
- T. Geohegan, Upper Ormond-quay.
- James Gorman, Glasthule.
- Richard Grattan, M.D., Drummin House, Carberry, county Kildare.
- Alderman Gregg, Sackville-street.
- Henry Greene, J.P., Dunboyne.
- Thomas Greene, T.C., Drogheda.
- John Grubb, Belvidere, Dollymount.
- Alderman Hamilton, Frederick-street.
- Honorable Laurence Harman King-Harman, D.L., Newcastle, county Longford.
- Captain Edward R. King-Harman, J.P., Creeaghmore, county Longford.
- M. C. Harman, T.C., Lismore.
- Maurice Hickey, Castletownroche.
- William Howe, J.P., Monkstown, co. Cork.
- William Hegarty, T.C., Letterkenny.
- James Hughes, Longford.
- Alfred Wonsfor Harris, Wellington-road.
- W. W. Harris, LL.D., ex-High Sheriff of the county Armagh, Eccles-street.

- William Harris, T.C., Longford.
 Edmund Harvey, Waterford.
 John Thomas Harvey, Rifle Lodge,
 Rossbeg, Westport.
 John Hassett, J.P., Forrest, co. Cork.
 Hy. Hassett, J.P., Woodlands, Bandon.
 Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D.,
 F.T.C.D., F.R.S.
 Edward A. Hayden, Clarendon-st.
 Patrick Hayes, T.C., Tipperary.
 Alfred Henshaw, Christ Church-pl.
 Hugh Heinrick, Birmingham.
 Louis Heinekey, East View, Monks-
 town.
 Thomas A. Hickey, Castlebar.
 R. W. Hillas, J.P., Seaview House,
 Sligo, Frankfort Castle, Dundrum.
 James Hilles, J.P., Balloorclerhy, and
 3 Richmond-place.
 Edward M. Hodgson, Capel-street.
 Jeremiah Hodnett, A.B., Youghal.
 W. Hogan, Bradford-street, Birming-
 ham.
 John E. Hunter, Hollybrook-park,
 Raheny.
 Rev. Patrick Irwin, P.P., Kilglass,
 Enniscrone, county Sligo.
 James Nolan Irwin, Beechwood, Ros-
 common.
 Henry Irwin, Rosslare, Wexford.
 John Jackson, T.C., Templemore.
 Rev. Morgan Jellett, St. Peter's.
 George Jones, Navan.
 Myles D. Jordan, J.P., Roslevin
 Castle, Swineford.
 Henry Jordan, Abbey-street.
 John St. George Joyce, *Galway Vin-
 dicator*.
 H. Smyly Kane, M.D., A.B., Antrim.
 P. Kavanagh, 47 Mary-street.
 James Kavanagh, Rorke's Hotel, Marl-
 borough-street.
 Joseph Kavanagh, Commercial Build-
 ings, Dublin.
 R. Keating, M.D., T.C., Callan.
 James Keegan, Great Britain-street.
 John Kelly, Waterford.
 Francis H. Kelly, Talbot-street.
 Dillon Kelly, M.D., J.P., Chairman
 T.C., Mullingar.
 Ignatius Kennedy, P.L.G., Capel-st.
 Nicholas Kenny, T.C., Carrick-on-
 Suir.
 Lt.-Col. Keogh, J.P., Kilbride, Tul-
 low, county Carlow.
 David Keogh, P.L.G., Waterford.
 W. H. Kerr, Capel-st., and Clontarf.
 A. J. Kettle, Millview, Malahide.
 Thomas B. Kiernan, Rushford-park,
 Manchester.
 E. H. Kinahan, J.P., ex-High Sheriff,
 Merrion-square.
- William King, 10 Corn-market.
 Michael Kirwan, Chairman T.C., Tem-
 plemore.
 Roland Kitson, Upper Baggot-street.
 Major Knox, D.L., Fitzwilliam-sq.
 William Lane, Manager of Munster
 Bank, Fethard.
 Capt. J. F. Lalor, 10, Lr. Mount-st.
 Patrick Langan, Earl-street.
 William Lawrence, Sackville-street.
 Peter Lavelle, Castlebar.
 Rev. Patrick Lavelle, P.P., Partry,
 Cong.
 W. Leahy, T.C., Pembroke Township.
 Nicholas Leech, T.C., Drogheda.
 Graham Lemon, Town Commissioner
 of Clontarf, Yew-park.
 John Lennox, Mills, Kimmage.
 Francis Leonard, Clanbrassil-street.
 Michael J. Leonard, Abbeyshrule, co.
 Longford.
 Auguste Lesage, Sackville-street.
 Henry Lincoln, 41 Synge-street.
 James Lipsett, T.C., Ballyshannon.
 Dr. P. C. Little, F.R.C.S., etc., Ste-
 phen's-green, West.
 Captain W. T. Lloyd, Garryhaken,
 Pallasgreen.
 Rickard Lloyd, Eblana Hall, Kings-
 town.
 J. F. Lombard, J.P., South-hill, Rath-
 mines.
 Rev. Thomas Long, A.M., St. John's,
 Dublin.
 Rev. Fred. J. Lucas, A.B., 4 Upper
 Pembroke-street.
 Peter B. Lumley, T.C., Tullamore.
 Thomas Lynam, T.C., Longford.
 James W. Mackey, ex-Lord Mayor,
 J.P., 40 Westmoreland-street.
 James V. Mackey, J.P., Beresford-pl.
 Capt. Geo. T. Macartney, Lissanoure,
 county Antrim.
 James Madden, Grafton-street.
 John Madden, Hilton Park, Clones.
 Thomas Magrath, T.C., Blackrock.
 James Maher, Dublin.
 Patrick Maher, 164 Capel-street.
 Chas. G. Mahon, J.P., New Park,
 Ennis.
 James Mallan, Jervis-street.
 Alderman Manning, J.P., Grafton-st.
 Southcote Mansergh, J.P., Grallagh
 Castle, county Tipperary.
 James W. Marks, T.C., Temple-
 more.
 Major H. W. Massey, J.P., Tipperary
 (Paris).
 John Masterson, Henry-street.
 John Martin, Kilbroney, co. Down.
 Dr. Maunsell, Parliament-street.
 Joseph Meade, Brunswick-street.

- W. Meagher, T.C., P.L.G., Clontarf.
 Alderman Patrick Meagher, Kilkenny.
 Patrick M'Ardle, Dundalk.
 John Geo. M'Carthy, Cork.
 John M'Carthy, ex-Chairman, T.C., Fethard.
- Florence D. M'Carthy, J.P., Glencurragh, Skibbereen.
 James M'Conerny, Donaghadee.
 E. M'Craith, M.D., Mitchelstown.
 Rev. George M'Cutchan, Rector, Kenmare.
 W. M'Dermott, J.P., Great Britain-street.
 Chas. M'Dermott, J.P. (Prince of Coolavin).
 James M'Donnell, Old Bawn Mills, Tallaght.
 Joseph Myles M'Donnell, J.P., Doo Castle, Ballymote.
 John M'Gauran, Westland-row.
 J. M'Kenna, Riversdale House, Holywood, Belfast.
 Chas. M'Lorinan, High-st., Belfast.
 E. M'Mahon, Thomond-terrace, North Circular-road.
 Matthew M'Mullan, 26, Corn Market, Belfast.
 Alexander M'Neale, 104, Gardiner-st.
 John Moore, Drogheda.
 John Moore, T.C., Midleton, county Cork.
 P. Moran, Kinlough, Cong.
 Francis Morgan, Dawson-street.
 Peter Morgan, T.C., Dundalk.
 Captain H. F. Morgan, Raheenderry, Athy.
 James A. Mowatt, Upper Sackville-st.
 George Moyers, Richmond-street.
 James Murphy, Dundalk.
 Patrick Murphy, Athy.
 Nicholas Murphy, Bonnybrook, Thomastown, county Kilkenny.
 Michael Murphy, T.C., Nelson-street.
 James B. Murtagh, Belvidere-place.
 John Murtagh, Longford.
 John Nolan, Sackville-street.
 Patrick Nolan, Hardwicke-street.
 — Nolan, Sir John's-quay.
 Michael Nunan, Mallow.
 Thomas Nunan, Kanturk.
 Very Rev. Dean O'Brien, D.D., Newcastle West, county Limerick.
 P. J. O'Brien, Sackville-street.
 Cornelius O'Brien, Nenagh.
 Patrick O'Brien, T.C., Strabane.
 P. Justin O'Byrne, Clanbrassil-terrace.
 Patrick O'Byrne, 6, Nassau-street.
 Rev. R. O'Callaghan, A.B., Rathmines.
 J. F. O'Callaghan, T.C., Athy.
 Keyes O'Clery, Temple, London.
- Thomas P. O'Connor, P.L.G., Cashel.
 Capt. Patrick H. O'Conor, J.P., D.L., Dendermott, Ballymoe, Castlerea.
 Sir Geo. O'Donnell, Bart., J.P., D.L., Newport, county Mayo.
 Rev. M. O'Donaghoe, C.C., Castlebar.
 Patrick O'Dowd, T.C., Westport.
 John O'Driscoll, Anglesea-street.
 Dr. O'Dwyer, Camden-street.
 John O'Duffy, Westland-row.
 Martin J. O'Flaherty, Galway.
 E. O'Hanlon, 73, Dame-street.
 Edward O'Leary, Upper Stephen-st.
 Æneas O'Malley, Dublin.
 Daniel C. O'Meagher, T.C., Fethard, Tipperary.
 John O'Meara, Somerset House, Parsonstown.
 Anthony O'Neill, T.C., North Strand.
 George O'Neill, Henry-street.
 James P. O'Reilly, T.C., Halston-st.
 Hugh O'Rorke, J.P., Breffni House, Kingstown.
 Luke Joseph O'Shea, J.P., Margaret's place (the Rennie's, Kinsale)
 John E. O'Sullivan, T.C., Killarney.
 Richard O'Sullivan, T.C., Queenstown.
 J. M. O'Toole, 7, Great Brunswick-st.
 Robert A. O'Toole, Brunswick-st.
 Joseph Parker, M.D., Limerick.
 Richard J. Parsons, Solicitor, 18, Lower Ormond-quay.
 Richard Pigott, 33, Lower Abbey-st.
 Alderman Plunket, James's-street.
 Thomas Plunkett, Ballybroughy House, Borris-in-Ossory.
 Patrick Power, Cabra-parade.
 John Power, Eccles-street.
 P. W. Power, J.P., Tramore.
 Michael Power, T.C., Chilcomb House, New Ross.
 Richard Power, Waterford.
 The Right Hon. Edward Purdon, Lord Mayor, Mansion House.
 Rev. P. Quaid, P.P., Callaghan's Mills.
 Martin Quaid, T.C., Rathkeale.
 Patrick Quigley, T.C., Maryboro'.
 Matthew Quinn, T.C., New Ross.
 James Quinn, T.C., Templemore.
 James Quinlan, Lough Kent, Cahir.
 Very Rev. Archdeacon Redmond, Arklow.
 Alderman Redmond, Dublin and Kingstown.
 Alderman Cornelius Redmond, Waterford News.
 William Reid, Kingstown and Bray Observer.
 James Reilly, P.L.G., Pill-lane.
 John Reilly, P.L.G., North King-st.
 Thomas Reilly, P.L.G., Pill-lane.
 Patrick Reilly, Westgate, Drogheda.

- Mat. Reynolds, Balmarino, Droguedha.
 Rev. James Rice, D.D., Queenstown.
 George Riddick, Lr. Dominick-street.
 Patk. Rogers, 2, Up. Drumcondra-rd.
 David Rogerson, Olney, Roundtown.
 J. P. Roynane, Renn Ronane, Queens-
 town.
 Charles Ronayne, M.D., Cchairman,
 T.C., Youghal.
 Thomas Ryan, Great-Brunswick-st.
 Rev. J. Ryan, P.P., New-Inn, Cahir.
 Edward Ryan, Ballygerald, Cahir.
 James F. Ryan, Solicitor, 50, Middle
 Abbey-street, and Thomastown.
 James Ryan, T.C., Templemore.
 Ven. Archdeacon Ryland, A.M., Lis-
 more.
 J. H. Sawyer, M.D., Stephens-green.
 Richard Sawyer, Great Brunswick-st.
 Frederick Sayers, T.C., Fethard.
 Henry B. Sayers, ex-Chairman T.C.,
 Fethard.
 James Scully, 52, York-street.
 John Lewis Scallan, Solicitor, Lower
 Gardiner-street.
 William Shaw, M.P. for the Borough
 of Bandon, Beaumont, Cork.
 George F. Shaw, F.T.C.D., Trinity
 College.
 Alfred Sheridan, *Mayo Examiner*.
 Peter Sheridan, Granby-row.
 Matthew Sheridan, *Mayo Examiner*.
 James Sherrie, jun., Solicitor, Rich-
 mond Hill, Rathmines.
 T. C. Sixsmith, T.C., Cavan.
 Christopher Smith, Dame-street.
 Francis Smith, 43, York-street.
 Luke Smith, Navan.
 Rev. Wm. Steele, Portora, Enniskillen.
 George A. Stephens, Blackhall-place.
 T. L. Sterling, Tullamore.
 Henry H. Stewart, M.D., Eccles-street.
 Rev. G. F. Stoker, A.M., All Saints',
 Blackrock.
 Alexander M. Sullivan, T.C., P.L.G.,
 Abbey-street.
- T. D. Sullivan, 90, Middle Abbey-
 street.
 John Sullivan, T.C., Ashgrove Lodge,
 Glenageary.
 Rev. Ralph Tagert, A.B., Brackbawn,
 Mitchelstown.
 Peter Talty, Henry-street.
 Alderman Tarpey, Nassau-street.
 Jasper Tatton, T.C., Midleton.
 Christopher Tighe, Droguedha.
 F. G. Tinckler, Sandycove.
 Rev. Thos. Tobin, P.P., St. Michael's,
 Liverpool.
 J. A. Travers, Wicklow.
 Thomas R. Trousdell, Limerick.
 William J. Tyndall, Grafton-street.
 Rev. Frederick Tymons, A.M., St.
 Bartholomew's, Dublin.
 J. L. Valletly, Belfast.
 Jas. Turpin Vanston, T.C., Maryboro'.
 Laurence Waldron, J.P., D.L., Bally-
 brack, Dalkey.
 J. D. Wall, Lower Sackville-street.
 Horatio N. Wallace, J.P., T.C., Ellers-
 lie, Sandycove.
 John Wallace, Bachelor's-walk.
 Michael Walsh, Newtown, Ballitore.
 William Walsh, T.C., Castlebar.
 Richard Walshe, J.P., Kingswood.
 E. Walsh, *The People*, Wexford.
 James Walton, Lower Sackville-street.
 R. S. Wayland, Seville-place.
 Richard D. Webb, Abbey-street.
 Thomas H. Webb, Corn Market.
 Alfred Webb, Abbey-street.
 G. K. Whammond, 3, Rathmines-park.
 James White, Summerville House,
 Rathgar.
 Joseph S. Whittaker, T.C., Templemore.
 William Whyte, Marlborough-street.
 Sir William Wilde, F.R.C.S.I., Mer-
 rion-square.
 J. W. Willington, Castle Willing-
 ton, Nenagh.
 Rev. W. Woods, D.D., Rutland-square.

September 14th, 1870.



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